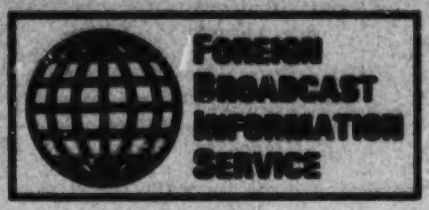

Daily Report

East Europe

FBIS-EEU-95-195
Tuesday
10 October 1995

This report may contain copyrighted material. Copying and dissemination is prohibited without permission of the copyright owners.

Daily Report
East Europe

FBIS-EEU-95-195 *10 October 1995*

CONTENTS

NOTICE: This volume contains a representative selection of material previously disseminated in softcopy format.

INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

'Meaningful Role' for OIC in B-H Peacekeeping *[AFP]* 1
Ex-Yugoslavia Mission Costs $5 Million Per Day *[AFP]* 1
West Discusses Reconstruction With Balkan Leaders *[AFP]* 1

INTER-EUROPEAN AFFAIRS

Czech Prime Minister in Warsaw for CEI Talks *[Prague Radio]* 3
Addresses Summit *[Prague Radio]* 3
Slovak Prime Minister 2d To Address CEI Summit *[Bratislava Radio]* 3
Supports Expansion of CEI *[Bratislava Radio]* 3
Bosnian Prime Minister Speaks at CEI Meeting *[Editorial Report]* 4
Pleased With CEI Document *[PAP]* 4
Polish Prime Minister: CEI Should Serve Integration *[PAP]* 4
Hungarian Prime Minister Makes Address at CEI Summit *[Budapest Radio]* 5
CEI To Admit New Members Before 1996 Summit *[Warsaw Radio]* 5

ALBANIA

Commentary Views Assassination Attempt on Gligorov *[RILINDJA 5 Oct]* 6
Berisha on Foreign Aid, Need for Investment *[Vienna KURIER 8 Oct]* 6
PS Mass Rallies To Begin Electoral Campaign *[POPULLI PO 4 Oct]* 7
Arrests Follow Rally in Durres *[KOHA JONE 4 Oct]* 7
PDD Seeks Support From Right in Elections *[KOHA JONE 4 Oct]* 7
PDKSh Opposes Decision on 'Parallel Party' *[Tirana Radio]* 8

BULGARIA

Foreign Ministry Welcomes Cease-Fire Agreement *[Sofia Radio]* 9
Editorials Hint at Hidden Aim in Holbrooke Visit *[KONTINENT 3 Oct]* 9
'True Reasons' for Visit Viewed *[DUMA 3 Oct]* 9
Assassination Attempt on Gligorov Discussed 10
'Bulgarian Trail' Rejected *[Sofia Radio]* 10
'Yugo-Nostalgia' as Motive *[DEMOKRATSIYA 5 Oct]* 11
FRY Agents Said Responsible *[Sofia Radio]* 11
Press Speculates on Aims, Consequences of Attack 12
Military Daily on Attackers *[BULGARSKA ARMIYA 4 Oct]* 12
24 CHASA: Threat to Region *[4 Oct]* 12
DUMA: 'Grave' News *[4 Oct]* 13
Police Witch Hunt Predicted *[KONTINENT 4 Oct]* 13
Nachev's Statement After Attack Criticized *[STANDART NEWS 5 Oct]* 13
Offer Seen as Clumsy Gesture *[KONTINENT 5 Oct]* 14
National Security Council Discusses Neo-COCOM *[Sofia Radio]* 14
Three Deputies Leave Bulgarian Business Bloc *[Sofia Radio]* 14

CZECH REPUBLIC

Minister Says 1,000 Troops May Be Sent to Bosnia *[TANJUG]* 15

Havel for Pressing Ahead With NATO Membership *[Editorial Report]* 15
Official: NATO Document Welcomed *[Prague Radio]* 15
Holan Opposes Referendum on NATO *[LIDOVE NOVINY 2 Oct]* 15
Focused Effort Urged To Join NATO *[MLADA FRONTA DNES 27 Sep]* 16
CR Getting More Than Kc100 Million for Border Areas *[PRAVO 25 Sep]* 16
Bonn's Claims for 0.5 Billion Marks Rejected *[PRAVO 26 Sep]* 16
Klaus Discusses GDP Rise, Foreign Currency Law *[DENNI TELEGRAF 22 Sep]* 17
Daily: Zieleniec Behind Deputy Minister's Dismissal *[LIDOVE NOVINY 26 Sep]* 18

SLOVAKIA

Ministry Denies Country Moving Away From NATO *[SLOVENSKA REPUBLIKA 4 Oct]* 19
Meciar Policies Not Compatible With Integration *[NARODNA OBRODA 4 Oct]* 19
Commentary Sees Decline in NATO 'Euphoria' *[HOSPODARSKE NOVINY 5 Oct]* 20
Meciar Returns From Central European Summit *[Bratislava Radio]* 21
Official on CEI Enlargement *[Bratislava Radio]* 21
Meciar on Republic's Relations With IMF *[Bratislava Radio]* 21
Kovac Rejects Civil Servants' Resignation Call *[SME 4 Oct]* 23
Campaign To Discredit Kovac 'Stepped Up' *[Bratislava Radio]* 23
Meciar Views Dispute With President Kovac *[Bratislava Radio]* 23
Political Scientist Views Meciar-Kovac Conflict *[NEPSZAVA 6 Oct]* 24
Daily Queries Aims of President's FRG Visit *[SLOVENSKA REPUBLIKA 5 Oct]* 25
Daily on Role of Sacked SIS Staff in Kidnapping *[SLOVENSKA REPUBLIKA 5 Oct]* 26

BOSNIA-HERZEGOVINA

'At Least 2 Days' Delay in Cease-Fire Predicted *[AFP]* 28
Izetbegovic: Truce Conditions Not Fulfilled *[AFP]* 28
Roads Still Not Open *[Sarajevo Radio]* 29
Izetbegovic Views Zivinice Incident, Cease-Fire *[Sarajevo Radio]* 29
President Comments on Federation, Cease-Fire *[Sarjevo Radio]* 29
Izetbegovic, German Ambassador View Reconstruction *[Sarajevo Radio]* 30
Silajdzic: Attack on Camp Could Stall Talks *[Sarajevo Radio]* 30
Ganic Views Acceptance of Peace Settlement *[London TV]* 31
Komsic Sees Opening of Sarajevo as 'Key' *[Sarajevo Radio]* 31
Holbrooke's Negotiating Methods Examined *[Sarajevo Radio]* 31
MBO Regards Cease-Fire Accord as 'Unacceptable' *[Sarajevo Radio]* 32
Karadzic Says Serbs To Comply With Cease-Fire *[AFP]* 32
Karadzic Comments on Cease-Fire, Negotiations *[Banja Luka TV]* 32
Official Says Serbs 'Eagerly' Await Cease-Fire *[SRNA]* 34
Bosnian Serb Official Upbeat on Peace Prospects *[SRNA]* 34
Pale Serb Socialists See Accord as 'Crucial' *[Belgrade TV]* 35
Karadzic Accuses Muslims of Undermining Peace *[SRNA]* 35
Official Doubts Muslims To Observe Cease-Fire *[Banja Luka Radio]* 35
Karadzic Addresses SDS Leaders on Peace Process *[SRNA]* 35
Serbs Favor Russian Troops To Police Peace *[SRNA]* 36
Karadzic Views Territorial Issues, Liberation *[Banja Luka Radio]* 36
Return of Occupied Lands *[SRNA]* 36
Party Considers Military-Political Situation *[Banja Luka TV]* 37
Mladic Reportedly Orders Arrest of Generals *[OSLOBODJENJE (Bosnian) 1 Oct]* 37
Zubak: 'Unwise' To Insist on 51:49 Division *[NEDJELJNA DALMACIJA 6 Oct]* 38
Commentary Criticizes Holbrooke, U.S. Plan *[LJILJAN 4 Oct]* 41
Commentary Questions Results of U.S. Initiative *[OSLOBODJENJE (Bosnian) 2 Oct]* 42
Croats Welcome Monitoring of Cease-Fire *[Mostar Radio]* 43

UN Shutting Down as Peace Plan Takes Over *[AFP]* 43
UN Hopeful of Cease-Fire, Natural Gas Restored *[AFP]* 44
UN Official Comments on Cease-Fire Talks *[AFP]* 45
Stoltenberg Voices Optimism For Peace Agreement *[London TV]* 45
Mostar Situation Most Difficult in Federation *[TANJUG]* 46
Silajdzic, Italy Differ on Balkan Aid Recipients *[Ljubljana Radio]* 46
Military Developments, Prospects for Peace Viewed *[VELEBIT 6 Oct]* 47

CROATIA

Tudjman Addresses HDZ Rally in Vela Luka *[Zagreb TV]* 50
Army Officer Says Military Action Not Ruled Out *[TANJUG]* 52
Minister Vows To 'Celebrate Christmas' in Vukovar *[Mostar Radio]* 52
Commentary Views Fear of Return to Old Yugoslavia *[VECERNJI LIST 5 Oct]* 52
Report Analyzes Opposition Electoral Alliance *[HRVATSKI OBZOR 2 Oct]* 53
Sokol Says Constitution Will Not Change *[SLOBODNA DALMACIJA 30 Sep]* 55
Army Officials Receive OSCE Delegation *[Zagreb Radio]* 56

THE FORMER YUGOSLAV REPUBLIC OF MACEDONIA

Gligorov Reported 'Improving' in Hospital *[AFP]* 57
Doctors Plan Further Surgery *[NOVA MAKEDONIJA 9 Oct]* 57
Assembly Issues Declaration on Gligorov Attack *[NOVA MAKEDONIJA 6 Oct]* 57
Interior Ministry Provides Description of Suspect *[MIC]* 58
Ethnic Albanian Parties Condemn 'Terrorist Act' *[Zurich BOTA SOT 5 Oct]* 59
Thaci: Attack Came From Abroad *[VECER 9 Oct]* 59
Newspapers Comment on Attack, Investigation 60
Interior Ministry Criticized *[NOVA MAKEDONIJA 6 Oct]* 60
Security Negligence Alleged *[NOVA MAKEDONIJA 6 Oct]* 60
Parties Seen as Irresponsible *[NOVA MAKEDONIJA 7 Oct]* 61
Period Preceding Attack Viewed *[NOVA MAKEDONIJA 5 Oct]* 63
Assembly Ratifies Agreement on Ties to Greece *[Belgrade Radio]* 64
Crvenkovski Comments on Accord *[Skopje Radio]* 65
Government Issues Decree on New State Flag *[Skopje Radio]* 65
Tetovo Court Fines Ethnic Albanian Leaders *[RILINDJA 4 Oct]* 65

POLAND

Dailies Comment on Prospect of NATO Expansion *[Editorial Report]* 67
Paper Charges West With 'Leniency' Toward Russia *[POLSKA ZBROJNA 3 Oct]* 67
Communique Signed by Polish, Ukrainian Ministers *[POLSKA ZBROJNA 8 Oct]* 68
Walesa Positively Assesses First Term in Office *[Warsaw Radio]* 68
Presidential Candidate Waltz Presents Program *[Editorial Report]* 69
Korwin-Mikke Elaborates on Platform at Convention *[RZECZPOSPOLITA 9 Oct]* 70
Candidate Bubel Denies Anti-Semitism Charge *[Warsaw Radio]* 70
Supreme Court Refuses To Register Tejkowski *[PAP]* 71

SLOVENIA

Kucan on Bosnia Cease-Fire, EU Membership *[Budapest Radio]* 72
Perry, Kacin Comment on 'Bilateral Cooperation' *[SLOVENSKA VOJSKA 22 Sep]* 73

YUGOSLAVIA

Federal

Kontic Calls Cease-Fire Accord 'Decisive Step' *[TANJUG]* 76

Belgrade Wants Full Interpol Membership Returned *[TANJUG]* 76
Seselj on U.S. 'Deception' To Buy Muslims Time *[SRNA]* 76
Seselj Opposes NATO Troops in Bosnia *[SRNA]* 76

Serbia

Milosevic, EU's Bildt on Bosnia Peace Process *[Belgrade Radio]* 77
'Technical Problems' Cited *[TANJUG]* 77
Belgrade Peace Role Warrants End to Sanctions *[Belgrade TV]* 77
Politicians, Parties Welcome Cease-Fire Accord *[Editorial Report]* 78
Parties Hail Prospect of Peace Settlement *[TANJUG]* 79
SPS: Cease-Fire Accord 'Decisive Step' to Peace *[Belgrade TV]* 79
SPO's Draskovic Urges National Reconciliation *[Belgrade TV]* 80
Sandzak Council Chairman on 'Special Status' *[OSLOBODJENJE (Bosnian) 27 Sep]* 80
Sandzak Residents Report 'Embargo' Violation *[Sarajevo Radio]* 82

Montenegro

Djukanovic Criticizes 'Junior Status' in FRY *[AFP]* 82

Kosovo

Rugova Praises U.S. Role in Bosnia Peace Accord 82
Hails Clinton Commitment *[KOSOVA DAILY REPORT]* 82
Welcomes Dole's 'Engagement' *[KOSOVA DAILY REPORT]* 83
Kosovo Albanians Want Part in Bosnia Negotiations *[AFP]* 84
Rugova Accuses Serbs of 'Systematic Repression' *[KOSOVA DAILY REPORT]* 85
Rugova, LDK Leaders Comment on Kosovar Issue 85
'Greater Commitment' Demanded *[Tirana TV]* 85
Serb 'Repression' Condemned *[KOSOVA DAILY REPORT]* 85
Serbs Offered 2,789 Jobs *[Tirana TV]* 86
Ethnic Albanian Calls For Rugova To Resign *[Belgrade Radio]* 86
Serb 'State-Sponsored' Colonization Schemes Seen *[Editorial Report]* 86

'Meaningful Role' for OIC in B-H Peacekeeping

AU0910204195 Paris AFP in English
2012 GMT 9 Oct 95

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Geneva, Oct 9 (AFP)—Countries in the Organization of the Islamic Conference (OIC) will play more than a symbolic role in any future Bosnia peacekeeping force, the current chairman of the OIC said here Monday.

Speaking after a meeting at the Palais des Nations between OIC countries and members of the extended contact group, Nacer Benjellou-Touimi, the Moroccan representative, said: "The OIC will have to have more than symbolic role in that force and obviously I think that the others are looking for a meaningful role. We are really happy the international group envisage our participation as a meaningful one."

The two groups met to pave the way for a joint meeting of foreign ministers who are due to meet Thursday in Rabat as agreed in New York as the UN General Assembly met.

Stressing that two OIC countries, Bangladesh and Pakistan already had troops in the peacekeeping forces, Benjellou-Touimi told journalists it was too early to outline whose troops would make up the force.

However he said it was likely the OIC would be involved in the reconstruction of Bosnia-Herzegovina, adding discussions were still at an early stage.

Ex-Yugoslavia Mission Costs $5 Million Per Day

AU0910191395 Paris AFP in English
1852 GMT 9 Oct 95

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Bucharest, Oct 9 (AFP)—The peace mission in former Yugoslavia is costing the United Nations $5 million a day at a time when the world body is in severe financial crisis, UN Secretary General Butrus Butrus-Ghali said Monday.

"I've been warning for the past four years of the financial consequences of failing to pay debts," Butrus-Ghali said in reference to member states in arrears on their contributions.

If the debts were not paid soon, the UN would have to call an emergency session, Butrus-Ghali said in a message read by his envoy Joseph Verner Reed to a meeting of the Interparliamentary Union in Bucharest.

The head of the world body said he regretted that steps to overcome the UN's financial crisis had failed and urged MPs present to convince their respective governments to pay up soon.

Some 70 member countries are in arrears to the United Nations for a total $3.4 billion, he said.

More than 1,000 deputies from 115 nations are attending the 94th conference of the Interparliamentary Union, which lasts for five days.

West Discusses Reconstruction With Balkan Leaders

AU0610200095 Paris AFP in English
1918 GMT 6 Oct 95

[Report by Bruno Franceschi]

[FBIS Transcribed Excerpt] Rome, Oct 6 (AFP)—Warring parties from the former Yugoslavia held talks here Friday [6 October] with representatives of eight western nations and Russia to draw up plans for the reconstruction of the war-shattered region, just one day after a ceasefire was announced. [passage omitted]

European mediator Carl Bildt, speaking after the afternoon session, said reconstruction in the former Yugoslavia, would, for the most part, also support reconciliation in Europe. [passage omitted]

On October 12 in Brussels, Bosnian Prime Minister Haris Silajdzic will hold similar meetings with Jacques Santer, president of the executive European Commission, who should take "important decisions" on this issue at the end of this month, Bildt said.

Speaking in the Spanish town of Alicante, Santer said Friday that in order for the ceasefire to be durable, "we must give them (countries in the former Yugoslavia) guarantees" for reconstruction.

In Warsaw on Friday, 10 member nations of the Central European Initiative agreed to set up a permanent information and documentation center in the Italian port of Trieste on the reconstruction of Bosnia-Herzegovina and Croatia. The center will be funded by Italy.

In Rome, conference participants shied away from giving an estimate of the cost, which U.S. officials have put at $4 billion.

The five-nation "contact group"—Britain, France, Germany, Russia and the United States—was joined by Canada, the Netherlands, Spain and host country Italy.

Bosnian Foreign Minister Muhamed Sacirbegovic, who did not attend the meeting having left in the morning for Washington, was replaced by his deputy.

Croatia's deputy foreign minister Ivo Sanader and Belgrade's Foreign Minister Milan Milutinovic, also attended.

This report may contain copyrighted material. Copying and dissemination is prohibited without permission of the copyright owners.

Milutinovic said: "We are all very tired by war and sanctions." But he warned: "Others don't want peace and that is probably why the war is still going on."

Sanader, for his part, said: "We are all willing to do everything possible for peace but it must be a stable peace and not a peace which lasts only a few weeks."

Italy was represented Friday by Foreign Minister Susanna Agnelli, and Spain by Foreign Minister Javier Solana, in his capacity as acting president of the council of EU foreign ministers. [passage omitted]

This report may contain copyrighted material. Copying and dissemination is prohibited without permission of the copyright owners.

Czech Prime Minister in Warsaw for CEI Talks

LD0610141695 Prague Radiozurnal Radio Network in Czech 1300 GMT 6 Oct 95

[FBIS Translated Text] Czech Prime Minister Vaclav Klaus has arrived by air in Warsaw to take part in the two-day session of the Central European Initiative. Miroslav Karas, our Warsaw correspondent, reports:

[Karas] Vaclav Klaus arrived at Okecie airport shortly after 1300 hours. Immediately after his arrival, he told Czech radio what he expects from the meeting with Slovak Prime Minister Vladimir Meciar and his Italian counterpart, Lamberto Dini.

[Begin Klaus recording] Apart from the multilateral talks among 15 prime ministers (?I would like to say something) about bilateral talks. Mr. Meciar and I want to confirm some matters that took place in Brno three weeks ago, and Mr. Dini and I will have the first meeting ever. We want to say something about Czech-Italian relations, but, above all, we want to prepare a new official visit next January, when I should be officially handing to him personally the Czech application to join the European Union. He will represent the chairing country of the European Union for the first half of 1996. [end recording]

[Karas] Vaclav Klaus, together with the other prime ministers of the Central European Initiative countries, will meet Polish President Lech Walesa in the early evening.

Addresses Summit

LD0710124495 Prague Radiozurnal Radio Network in Czech 1100 GMT 7 Oct 95

[FBIS Translated Excerpt] The meeting of prime ministers and foreign ministers of the Central European Initiative [CEI] continues in Warsaw. Our correspondent in Poland, Miroslav Karas, reports:

[Karas] [Passage omitted] Czech Prime Minister Vaclav Klaus, addressing the summit today, said that the issue of CEI's expansion is a real priority. He expressed satisfaction with the fact that, despite the difference of views, the CEI is becoming more open. He added, however, that its purpose is still not clear and asked if prime-ministerial summits are supposed to be seen as the main objective.

The Czech prime minister said he does not think the CEI is the best platform for economic cooperation. The Central European Free Trade Association, CEFTA, provides such a platform.

I believe that the most realistic way to solve the CEI's future is its role in a broad political dialogue at the highest level, Klaus said. He then suggested that the CEI be turned into a forum endeavoring to solve problems in cooperation with other European organizations. Klaus warned against the danger of the CEI's becoming too bureaucratic and added that there is no point in creating new working groups without there being a clear program.

Later today Vaclav Klaus will meet Polish Foreign Minister Oleksy.

Slovak Prime Minister 2d To Address CEI Summit

LD0710130495 Bratislava Rozhlasova Stanica Slovensko Network in Slovak 1100 GMT 7 Oct 95

[FBIS Translated Excerpt] The Central European Initiative [CEI] summit is in its second day in Warsaw today. Correspondent Jozef Rebo reports:

[Rebo] [Passage omitted] The Slovak representative was the second to address the summit. Vladimir Meciar said:

[Begin Meciar recording] [Passage omitted] We welcome both the draft principles of CEI activity and the summit agenda as a useful contribution to future CEI activity. But we emphasize the need for a pragmatic approach without unnecessary rigidity and with an emphasis on the realization of projects strengthening the Central European economic infrastructure. This infrastructure is of decisive importance for the successful completion of the transition processes and of the process of integration with European structures. [end recording]

Supports Expansion of CEI

LD0610144195 Bratislava Rozhlasova Stanica Slovensko Network in Slovak 1100 GMT 6 Oct 95

[FBIS Translated Text] Just before Prime Minister Vladimir Meciar's departure by air for Warsaw, Jarmila Tosecka asked him about his program:

[Begin recording] [Tosecka] Mr. Prime Minister, when this interview goes on the air you will already be in Warsaw, at the CEI summit. What is the main issue on the summit agenda? And what do you expect from the summit?

[Meciar] There are two main groups of issues. The CEI is an organization of regional importance; it is not meant to replace some other European organizations, such as the Council of Europe, the European Union, the Organization for Security and Cooperation in Europe, and so on. The CEI is still looking for an identity. So, first of all, a decision is to be made on its quantitative expansion. Certain countries attending as guests have applied for full-fledged membership and, although not all CEI members are unanimous on this issue, the Slovak Republic is determined to support their application.

This report may contain copyrighted material. Copying and dissemination is prohibited without permission of the copyright owners.

Another important point is that the original purpose of the CEI has to be restored. Recently the CEI started increasingly to pursue political issues, and it must return to regional projects with mainly economic, and not political, implications. We anticipate that, as regards this issue, it will be possible to reach a degree of understanding and make some progress.

[Tosecka] The Warsaw meeting of the CEI prime ministers also provides an opportunity for a number of bilateral meetings. In Banska Bystrica on Wednesday, you said that the agenda for the talks with Czech Prime Minister Vaclav Klaus would include mainly economic issues. Who else are you going to meet in Warsaw? What do you want to discuss with them in the interest of the Slovak Republic?

[Meciar] My schedule includes meetings with the Polish and Hungarian prime ministers, and the Italian prime minister also asked for a meeting. Our main interest lies in Central European cooperation and in good relations with the region's states. In my talks with Prime Minister Horn, I would also like to discuss some aspects of a project he put forward, namely, how to resolve the question of the position of Slovaks in the Hungarian Republic. Many other things are under preparation, too, and there will be plenty of those usual busy 30-minute working meetings. [end recording]

Bosnian Prime Minister Speaks at CEI Meeting

LD0710162895

[FBIS Editorial Report] Sarajevo Radio Radio-Bosnia-Herzegovina Network in Serbo-Croatian at 1400 GMT on 7 October broadcast a two-minute report on the opening of the Central European Initiative [CEI] meeting in Warsaw. The announcer said: "A meeting of the Central European Initiative [CEI] at the prime-ministerial level opened in Warsaw today. The prime ministers and foreign ministers of 15 countries, 10 permanent and five associated members of this organization, and a number of representatives of European financial and other organizations are attending the meeting.

"The meeting was also addressed by Haris Silajdzic, prime minister of the Republic and Federation of Bosnia-Herzegovina. He focused in particular on a proposal by the Italian representative that the so-called Yugoslavia be included in the CEI organization.

"At a time when we are still finding mass graves and after the introduction of sanctions and the establishment of the responsibility of Serbia and Montenegro for the aggression against Bosnia-Herzegovina, Bosnia-Herzegovina is firmly against the membership of Serbia and Montenegro in the CEI and in other international organizations until these countries carry out fundamental internal changes and go through normal procedures."

Pleased With CEI Document

LD0710155295 Warsaw PAP in Polish 1454 GMT 7 Oct 95

[FBIS Translated Text] Warsaw, 7 Oct—At a news conference on 7 October at the end of the Warsaw Summit of the Central European Initiative [CEI], Bosnia-Herzegovina Prime Minister Haris Silajdzic said he is pleased with the document adopted by the CEI on the issue of the situation in that region and with the significance this subject matter was accorded at the summit.

He added that Bosnia is the best example of what ought not to happen in Europe. He stressed that the condition for further actions and their success is stopping the atrocities of genocide. Mass graves are constantly being discovered in Bosnia; we do not yet know of the entire horror of this war, Silajdzic said.

Poland will chair the permanent working group for the reconstruction of Bosnia-Herzegovina and Croatia appointed on Saturday by the foreign ministers of the CEI member states. Prime Minister Jozef Oleksy said the document adopted is a declaration of intent; the details of assistance have not been discussed. The tasks of the group will include the specification of the concrete possibilities for assistance, he stressed. He added that (?representatives) of European (?institutions) who listened to the debates of the summit made declarations about the possible subsidizing of the projects.

Polish Prime Minister: CEI Should Serve Integration

LD0710142795 Warsaw PAP in Polish 1116 GMT 7 Oct 95

[FBIS Translated Text] Warsaw, 7 Oct—The Central European Initiative [CEI] can play a greater stabilizing role in the area than it does now. All of the CEI actions should also aim at bringing its members closer to the EU and speeding up Poland's as well as other interested parties' membership in the EU, Prime Minister Jozef Oleksy said when opening today's plenary session of prime ministers and foreign ministers of the CEI member states in Warsaw.

The prime minister expressed the hope that the conflict on the territory of former Yugoslavia was coming to an end and stressed that the CEI would support the reconstruction of the war-ravaged regions. He recalled that, since last July, a group for the rebuilding and reconstruction of Bosnia has been operating and that, starting with the Warsaw summit, it was to become a permanent one.

This report may contain copyrighted material. Copying and dissemination is prohibited without permission of the copyright owners.

The prime minister stressed that five years after the end of the Cold War and at the 50th anniversary of the UN, CEI member states are facing a historic challenge to create a pluralist but unified Europe. He expressed the hope that today's deliberations would help to determine such directions for CEI cooperation, which would support the processes of European integration.

According to the prime minister, the CEI was not taking full advantage of its geographical position in the center of the continent; he also stressed that critical appraisal should be made of the current activities of the working groups, and decisions made on which groups should continue to operate and which groups be scaled down. In his opinion, the CEI also lacks contacts outside official government relations, namely, contacts between societies.

Oleksy said that the establishing of regular contacts between the CEI and Russia last August, which may in the future result in concrete cooperation, had been a significant political event.

The prime minister stressed that the CEI should seek new sources for financing its projects. He added that the financial resources granted by the Italian Government to the European Bank for Reconstruction and Development were now almost completely exhausted.

Oleksy recalled that Poland had invariably been in favor of admitting the associated countries to the CEI. He added that the document laying down the principles for CEI actions, which is to be adopted at the Warsaw summit meeting, stresses the CEI's openness for cooperation with other countries, which is proved by the current cooperation with the associated countries.

Hungarian Prime Minister Makes Address at CEI Summit

LD0710123895 Budapest Kossuth Radio Network in Hungarian 1100 GMT 7 Oct 95

[FBIS Translated Text] The Hungarian prime minister [Gyula Horn] spoke at the Warsaw summit of the Central European Initiative [CEI] this morning. Szabolcs Szilagyi reports from Warsaw.

[Szilagyi] Gyula Horn, who spoke at the prime ministers' plenary session, sees the important role of the CEI in three areas: promoting economic endeavors, strengthening the so-called Euro-conformity, and increasing the region's stability. Two questions need to be answered: the issue of the organization's expansion and how the CEI should link up with the European integration process. Horn reckons that expansion is needed first and foremost in economic and human areas, to which a system of high-level political consultations must be added.

We welcome the Trieste Italian initiative for the setting up of the CEI headquarters. The organization's enlargement facilitates the creation of a unified Europe.

At the recess of this morning's meeting, we were informed that no one was now opposed to the admission of new member states.

CEI To Admit New Members Before 1996 Summit

LD0710102395 Warsaw Polskie Radio First Program Network in Polish 0900 GMT 7 OCt 95

[FBIS Translated Text] A two-day meeting of the Central European Initiative [CEI], in which the heads of government and foreign ministers of the 10 member states and five associated countries are taking part, will end later today in Warsaw.

During the first day of the meeting, it was decided that the countries awaiting admission to the CEI would be admitted before next year's CEI summit, at the latest.

President Lech Walesa expressed the hope that the CEI will do a lot for the war-ravaged countries of the former Yugoslavia and stressed that the CEI's aim is to create a new and peaceful Europe.

The summit meeting of the CEI member states takes place once a year. Poland is currently chairing the CEI, which is made up of 10 countries.

This report may contain copyrighted material. Copying and dissemination is prohibited without permission of the copyright owners.

Commentary Views Assassination Attempt on Gligorov

AU0910132195 Tirana RILINDJA in Albanian 5 Oct 95 p 3

[Commentary by Z. Gecaj: "Now Terrorism, Too?"]

[FBIS Translated Text] The assassination attempt on President Gligorov the day before yesterday distressed the public not only in Macedonia [The Former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia—FYROM] but abroad, especially in the Balkan countries, because of the threat of terrorism in pursuit of political goals that this act implied. Without going into the speculations so far raised over who undertook this act of terrorism against Gligorov and why, we would say that the infiltration of terrorism into the Balkans would be a serious danger for the peoples of the Balkan countries themselves. In the last two days, analysts of Balkan developments have mainly been asking whether the Balkans face the opening of a new war front in the south, as efforts to calm the war in the north continue. Or has the "Lebanonization" of the Balkans perhaps begun? The start of individual or group terrorism as an instrument of political struggle would be a catastrophe for all states with undefined state borders and with an uncertain international status. It particularly poses a threat to the new states born after the disintegration of the former Yugoslavia.

If the Balkans are allowed to be governed by the rule of force or by terrorist acts, the area will be perpetually torn by conflict and irreconcilable interests. The prolongation of the crisis in the Balkans, especially in the former Yugoslavia, and the delays in finding a fair and acceptable solution to the region's problems seem to have created a vacuum that terrorism, as a tool of political struggle, has started to fill. Or certain circles within or beyond the region, for their own unstated and possibly dark purposes, may have planned terrorism as an element in their strategy.

The terrorist act of the day before yesterday is a vivid signal that the international community should not on any account allow terrorism to be used as a means to attain political goals in the Balkans. At the same time, it should commit itself to a solution acceptable to all states, both preexisting states and those born as a result of the explicit desire of their peoples, so that the Balkans will not become "Lebanonized."

Berisha on Foreign Aid, Need for Investment

AU0810143195 Vienna KURIER in German 8 Oct 95 p 4

[Interview with Albanian President Sali Berisha by Susanne Lintl; place and date not given: "Being the Poorest Causes Problems for Us"]

[FBIS Translated Text] [Lintl] How much progress have you already made on your path?

[Berisha] We started out on a difficult journey, but we are making some progress: We have radically changed the old institutions, put everything on a new basis, and replaced the old people. Of course, economic reform is a shock for the people. The first fruits that we can harvest are bitter. Inflation has been pushed down from 400 percent to just a few percent, production is going up. But the path that we have embarked upon is the right one.

[Lintl] Is the speed of development sufficient to encourage in particular the young generation to stay in the country?

[Berisha] Of course, it is difficult to make the young people stay. Being Europe's poorest country is a psychological problem for the people. A total of 70 percent are unemployed. Emigration from Albania will continue until we have become a developed country. Speedy development is our ticket to the future.

[Lintl] How do you assess the prospects for peace in Bosnia?

[Berisha] The most recent developments give us hope. The Serbs, the aggressors in Bosnia, should be realistic and recognize reality. They cannot realize a Greater Serbia anymore. For me the most important point is, in any case, that Bosnia must be preserved as a state; otherwise, there will be more wars in the Balkans.

[Lintl] You are certainly thinking of Kosovo.

[Berisha] Yes, too little attention is being paid to Kosovo at the moment. The human rights of the Albanians who live there must be respected; otherwise, there will be a tragedy playing out on several different stages.

[Lintl] Do you think that rich Europe cares too little for you and leaves you in the lurch in this difficult situation of reconstructing the country?

[Berisha] No, no, we must not complain. The international community is doing enough for us, in particular also the Austrians. However, the most effective help for us Albanians would be investments in our country. Labor is cheap here, and one can certainly make a profit.

This report may contain copyrighted material. Copying and dissemination is prohibited without permission of the copyright owners.

[Lintl] Relations with Greece are strained. Are there also problems with the Greek minority in Albania?

[Berisha] No. We give the Greeks all minority rights on the basis of international standards. Nevertheless, their number in Albania keeps decreasing. They are looking for fortune in their mother country.

PS Mass Rallies To Begin Electoral Campaign

AU0810162295 Tirana POPULLI PO in Albanian 4 Oct 95 p 3

[Article by E. Abilekaj: "Election Campaign of Socialists Begins"]

[FBIS Translated Text] The Socialist Party [PS] mass rally in Durres [2 Oct] marked the beginning of the electoral campaign. Thousands of people who gathered to listen to the PS leaders, who were almost all present, showed that the electorate of the Left is considerable even in the big cities. In these cities, the PS lost in the 22 March 1992 elections, and its predcessor lost on 31 March 1991. The situations appears to have changed. The recent survey of Socialists organized in the capital, was really shocking. The Socialists had a much more positive result than the Democratic Party and the other parties, although the stand toward the other moderate parties of the center shows that this survey is not exact. The shapeless bloc of the center, with the Social Democratic Party, the Democratic Alliance, and the Party for the Protection of Human Rights, did not even get 8 percent of the votes in the capital.

Nevertheless, the PS appeal to start the electoral campaign, after the extraordinary meeting of the Steering Committee, will be followed by many other rallies in the main districts of the country and will conclude in Tirana. This campaign will last for several weeks and will be the first stage of the socialists' activities. Starting with the second month of 1996, the PS will again be at the center of attention for its conferences in the districts in preparation of the congress to be held prior to the 1996 elections. After the congress, the PS will resume its rallies for the electoral campaign. As it appears, the PS has thought of a clear strategy up to the day of the general elections. Yesterday, PS Deputy Chairman Hajdaraga visited Librazhd and the other deputy chairmen and general secretary will visit several districts, thus taking action after Deputy Chairman Pellumbi's appeal for the electoral campaign. This campaign announced by the PS has been considered illegal by the Democratic Party [PD]. The PD leaders said that Pellumbi's declaration to have Nano and PS Secretary General Ruci on the list of deputies is unlawful. The socialist leaders, mentioned by Pellumbi, according to the antigenocide law, are not allowed to be chosen deputies or ministers.

Arrests Follow Rally in Durres

AU0810152795 Tirana KOHA JONE in Albanian 4 Oct 95 p 2

[Article by Th. Mustaqi: "Police Begin Arrests"]

[FBIS Translated Text] Three people ended up in prison on Monday [2 October], following the mass rally of the socialists in Durres. Vladimir Muca, 24, from District 6; Gazmend Manushi, 28, from the village Koxhas, Shijak [area near Durres]; and Taip Isufi 56, from district 18, were accompanied by several civilians to the isolation rooms of the Durres police station between 1900 and 2000 hours local time, on Monday. According to the civillian police reports, the three people were arrested under the accusation of "calumnies against the president," Article 241, because during the Socialist Party [PS] rally at the sports palace they shouted "down with the president." Durres PS leaders say that, according to the Penal Code, the arrest is applied only when the sufferer, in this case the president, sues, but he has not done this. Yesterday, within the time limit of 24 hours, the Durres PS Presidency complained to the prosecutor against the police chief for the unlawful arrest of the three citizens. The PS Presidency had protested severely against 200 police troops surrounding the palace of sports and the presence there of the special forces from Tirana, that were on No. 1 alert. Though the police were not allowed to enter during the PS rally, the PS deputy [Chairman Namik Dokle] stressed that the responsible ones are the speakers and not the free participants in the rally. "In our speeches we did not use slanders or offenses against the president," concluded Dokle.

PDD Seeks Support From Right in Elections

AU0810171095 Tirana KOHA JONE in Albanian 4 Oct 95 p 2

[Article by A. Hazizaj: "Fight Against the Democratic Party and the Socialist Party"]

[FBIS Translated Text] While the Socialist Party [PS] publishes the results of its preelectorate survey, the other parties hurry to begin their electorate campaign. The Right Democratic Party [PDD] in one of its meetings worked out its action plan for the coming elections as a response to the acts of the two biggest parties in Albania, the Democratic Party [PD] and the PS.

"After the approval of the electoral platform and strategy by the national conference, our party will begin its electoral campaign," said PDD leader Petrit Kalakulla, a former member of the Tirana PD Branch.

According to Mr. Kalakulla, the electoral campaign of his party will concentrate on six points taken from

This report may contain copyrighted material. Copying and dissemination is prohibited without permission of the copyright owners.

its program. The action plan has to do with private property, the fight against communism, revision of acts of sold properties, the struggle against corruption, the restoration of order and the rule of law, and protection of the national cause.

"Justice and honesty should be restored in Albania," explains Kalakulla. He continues: "The state must be run by capable and honest people, who must overcome poverty and personal interests."

Though the PDD did not compete in the 22 March 1992 elections, it has two deputies in the legislature. After separation from the PD, Petrit Kalakulla and Abdi Baleta denounced corruption within the party in power and took with them to their new party a considerable part of the right wing Albanian electorate, who were disillusioned by the reforms. Soon this party found itself at a crossroads after Baleta's attack against its presidency, which was masterfully turned by Kalakulla to his benefit.

"We accuse the PD of being a party that has speculated in its obligations to the people, has not observed the 22 March program, has betrayed the interests of the Right, and has worked intensively to perpetuate the privileges of the communist system, of the communists under a new guise."

The PDD sees possible alliances within its bloc. "It is more than normal that a party like ours seeks alliances within its own political spectrum, i.e., the right wing. The PD is not included here. For us it is the same as the PS, a left wing," says Kalakulla.

"These parties should not claim power, because it is they who reduced us to such a tragic situation. Our slogan in the coming elections will be 'Fight against the PD and the PS.' The former will not win more than 10-15 percent, and the latter about 30 percent. Only a great number of abstentions can result in that party winning over 50 percent. I do not believe very much in their surveys," continues the FDD chairman.

"We can win even 40 percent because the PD electorate will vote only for us," he says.

Each of the big parties is sure of its victory in the coming elections. The PDD, though under a shadow, claims to win a considerable part of the votes. Sometimes it is better to stand under the "shadow" and win, rather than come out onto the battle field and "be killed."

PDKSh Opposes Decision on 'Parallel Party'

AU0710165495 Tirana Radio Tirana Network in Albanian 1430 GMT 6 Oct 95

[FBIS Translated Text] The Albanian Christian Democratic Party [PDKSh] has denied press announcements according to which this party has been ranked in the Albanian Rightist League [LD].

Meanwhile, in a statement distributed for the media, the party strongly opposes Justice Minister Hektor Frasheri's decision on the creation of a parallel party named the Albanian Christian Democratic Union Party. According to the party, this is an act proceeding from unexplainable motives; it is illogical and unlawful. The statement stresses that this action aims at splitting and breaking up the Christian Democratic alternative in Albania.

This report may contain copyrighted material. Copying and dissemination is prohibited without permission of the copyright owners.

Foreign Ministry Welcomes Cease-Fire Agreement

AU0910170095 Sofia Khorizont Radio Network in Bulgarian 1600 GMT 9 Oct 95

[FBIS Translated Text] Radko Boykov, spokesman for the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, presented the ministry's position on the cease-fire agreement in Bosnia-Herzegovina that will take effect tonight at midnight.

The Republic of Bulgaria greets this agreement and the efforts made in this respect by the United States and the Contact Group.

Bulgaria appeals again for prudence and forbearance from any actions that could thwart or delay the cease-fire that has been agreed upon.

Bulgaria expresses hope that the agreement will be implemented and that it will open the road to an international conference at which a final peaceful settlement will be achieved, the declaration reads.

The Bulgarian diplomatic representatives in Croatia and Yugoslavia, Lyubcho Trokharov and Georgi Yurukov, took part in the regular weekly briefing of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs.

They commented on the development of the situation in the region and the prospects of peaceful settling the Yugo-conflict, lifting the sanctions, and reconstructing the Balkans with international help.

According to the two diplomats, the Bulgarian position on the Yugo-conflict is assessed highly both in Belgrade and Zagreb. This reveals favorable conditions for Bulgaria's participation in the postwar reconstruction. However, the preparations for the contractual-legal relations with the states that now are participating in the conflict must be accelerated.

In a reply to a correpondent's question and a Yugoslav announcement, Mr. Yurukov said that, officially, Bulgaria and Yugoslavia have not discussed the issue of allowing refugees from Krajina into Bulgaria.

Editorials Hint at Hidden Aim in Holbrooke Visit

AU0610140395 Sofia KONTINENT in Bulgarian 3 Oct 95 p 6

[Commentary by Plamen Kulinski: "Visit With Question Marks"]

[FBIS Translated Text] No heed was paid to the president's invitation to Carl Bildt, Europe's intermediary for former Yugoslavia, to visit Bulgaria. Instead, notwithstanding his frantic shuttling between Sarajevo, Zagreb, and Belgrade, U.S. Assistant Secretary of State Richard Holbrooke found time to visit us, only days before his talks with Prime Minister Videnov and Foreign Minister Pirinski at the UN headquarters in New York.

Both in New York and in Sofia, Holbrooke praised the Bulgarians for the wise position they had adopted on nonintervention in the Yugo-conflict, so that it is unlikely that his visit was prompted by a wish to restate this view, or that it was connected with the government's desire for the sanctions to be lifted in stages.

However, Holbrooke said that Bulgaria could do much for peace in the region, and referred to our membership in the Partnership for Peace as a factor contributing to stability in the region. Not long ago General Shalikashvili also mentioned the possibility of member countries of NATO's Partnership for Peace program participating in the multinational forces needed to implement the Bosnian peace plan. Perhaps Holbrooke visited Sofia precisely to explain this. The talks held by the Pentagon generals at the Bulgarian Defense Ministry were kept somewhat separated from Holbrooke's brief visit, yet were these not more important, and did their discussions not include the question of how to transport the arms for these multinational forces, along a "Bulgarian corridor," for example? What would then be left of the "wise" (according to Holbrooke) Bulgarian position on nonintervention in the Yugo-conflict?

'True Reasons' for Visit Viewed

AU0610211995 Sofia DUMA in Bulgarian 3 Oct 95 p 3

[Commentary by Svetlana Mikhova: "Under the Heading of 'Any Other Business'"]

[FBIS Translated Text] We are praised for our "wise, bold" policy of neutrality toward the Yugoslav crisis. This policy is said to be "of historic importance" for the region. What is more, the praise comes not from a nobody, but from Assistant Secretary of State Richard Holbrooke himself, President Clinton's personal envoy charged with seeking a peaceful settlement of the Balkan conflict.

We know that the gratitude for our display of sound common sense is justly deserved. However, it was not merely to say these kind words that the energetic, straight-speaking presidential emissary found time from his headlong Balkan tour to visit us. There clearly were reasons, and serious ones at that, why Sofia became an "optional stopover" for the high-ranking U.S. diplomatic team's Balkan express. The stopover was agreed, it turned out, at the personal suggestion of Foreign Minister Pirinski and U.S. Ambassador Montgomery.

This report may contain copyrighted material. Copying and dissemination is prohibited without permission of the copyright owners.

The true reasons lie beneath the surface of the officially announced purpose of the visit: They were to investigate the possibilities of including Bulgaria in the "mini-Marshall Plan" for Bosnia's postwar reconstruction. This was one topic, and an extremely important one for Bulgaria, but it was not the No. 1 issue discussed during his Sofia stopover, as Holbrooke himself admitted to journalists. He himself mentioned two reasons. The first was the need for the two sides to brief one another on their positions and exchange views on the state of the conflict. The second goal was to exchange views on bilateral relations, including the expansion of NATO and other issues.

It is a accepted diplomatic practice sometimes to put under the heading of "any other business" not only secondary issues, but also very important questions in which one side has an interest. Since the United States is a normal state with lasting national interests and experienced diplomats, they are not bashful about defending these interests—perhaps in secret, but nonetheless persistently, which is the most important thing.

What does the American interest dictate at the moment? It emerged from the session of the NATO planners in Brussels last week that the main aim is to prepare the multinational force's peacekeeping operation under the leadership of NATO, which is faced with the requirement to complete this operation within one year. In other words, if 25,000 U.S. infantry troops join the force, they should return home on the eve of the presidential elections. This event would be a triumph for the present administration's cause. However, the Republicans also want to win election campaign dividends from the Bosnian campaign, namely by giving the green light for the United States' leadership role in it, but without the participation of U.S. ground troops. Let us leave this job to the Europeans, former Secretary of State James Baker, another top U.S. diplomat who has visited us in the past, said yesterday. Thus, the Republican Congress may refuse to grant the billion dollars for the infantry's needs in Bosnia, or to send the infantrymen themselves. For this reason, Clinton's serving diplomats are seeking multiple alternative solutions to guarantee the success of their Balkan mission.

One such move may be to sound out the possibilities of the countries that want to join NATO contributing troops to the so-called peacekeeping corps in Bosnia or participating in other forms of military presence in the zone of conflict. There is nothing strange in this forming part of the purpose of the visit by the military men who accompanied Holbrooke. We briefed Defense Minister Dimitur Pavlov on the stage reached in the talks on settling the Yugoslav conflict, stated General Wes Clark, director of strategic planning and policy with the U.S. Joint Chiefs of Staff. A military officer of such a rank would not have come to Sofia merely to report to the Bulgarian defense minister. It is more likely that information was exchanged in both directions. However, it is not quite clear what the contents of the talks were, or what was the tie-up between Bulgarian and U.S. interests.

The frank and principled position of the head of state casts more light on the situation. Whatever conditions NATO sets for our membership, since we want to join, we must accept them, he said. Although it is not clear whether we want to join or not, or what exactly we want in relation to NATO, it seems that the head, as part of the body of our state, has already decided to offer bases for their missiles if they want them. Thus, under the heading of "any other business" the American visitors topped up the information they needed on the Bulgarian position on the issues that they regard as urgent—at a moment when peace in Bosnia is still far distant, not to mention the long-awaited "mini-Marshall plan," in contrast to the war, which is here in the Balkans now and does not come under "any other business." Nor can Bulgaria's national interest fall under this heading.

Assassination Attempt on Gligorov Discussed

'Bulgarian Trail' Rejected

AU0610184495 Sofia Khorizont Radio Network in Bulgarian 1700 GMT 6 Oct 95

[FBIS Translated Text] Foreign Minister Georgi Pirinski will not take part in the unofficial meeting of the Mediterranean countries in Malta on 14 and 15 October. At a regular news conference held in Sofia today, he announced that he was unable to attend because of official engagements.

I see no reason for the negative attitude toward Bulgaria on the part of Macedonia [The Former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia—FYROM] Foreign Minister Georgi Pirinski said today, commenting on certain items that had appeared in the press in connection with the attack on the life of Macedonia President Kiro Gligorov. Bulgaria immediately condemned this terrorist act in the strongest terms, Minister Pirinski emphasized. I see no grounds for this to impair our bilateral relations, he added.

This morning, in a special interview broadcast on the "Good Morning!" program of the Khristo Botev Network of Bulgarian National Radio, Macedonian Ambassador Georgi Spasov categorically denied that the Macedonian Interior Ministry or any Macedonian newspaper had originated the idea of a Bulgarian trail in the attempt to assassinate Macedonian President

This report may contain copyrighted material. Copying and dissemination is prohibited without permission of the copyright owners.

Kiro Gligorov. Ambassador Spasov said that this was the work of ultranationalist groups. The attempt to assassinate the president, the ambassador added, will not delay the processes that have started in the country, will not lead to any change in Macedonia's peaceloving policy, and will not affect its goodneighborly relations with Bulgaria.

'Yugo-Nostalgia' as Motive

AU0910160595 Sofia DEMOKRATSIYA in Bulgarian 5 Oct 95 p 3

[Commentary by Luchezar Toshev, Union of Democratic Forces (SDS) member of the National Assembly: "Who Was Interested in Assault on Kiro Gligorov?"]

[FBIS Translated Text] Ending the conflict in Bosnia would have created clouds around Macedonia [The Former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia—FYROM]. Undoubtedly there are circles both in Macedonia and Belgrade who dream of repeating 1913 and giving Macedonia to Serbia in exchange for concessions in Bosnia. The Serbian Party in Macedonia, which is active around Kumanovo, announced repeatedly and publicly that it is too early to create an independent Macedonian state.

However, such a state was created, and Bulgaria was the first to give it a chance to exist by recognizing it. Later on, Macedonia was recognized by all states, except for Serbia (the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia) and Greece.

Recently, perhaps sensing the upcoming difficulties, Macedonian diplomacy actively began to regulate its relations with the neighbors. The negotiations with Greece led to the lifting of the embargo and the start of arrangements for establishing diplomatic relations—an act that was welcomed by all, including Bulgaria. Macedonia agreed to accept Bulgaria's proposal to settle the language dispute and, only two days earlier, talks had began in Belgrade at the highest level on the mutual recognition of the two states. This would have finally guaranteed Macedonia's independence, and thus—stability in the Balkans.

It was precisely at this moment that the assault against President Gligorov came like a bolt from the blue. The Greek media, relying on past analogies, immediately accused the Internal Macedonian Revolutionary Organization-Democratic Party for Macedonian National Unity [VMRO-DPMNE]. However, the VMRO-DPMNE has no interest in foiling the recognition of Macedonia by Serbia. In addition, it is well known that, in the past, the VMRO-DPMNE used to implement its "penalties" by publicly announcing its "verdicts."

After the assault in Skopje, VMRO-DPMNE leader Ljupco Georgievski publicly denounced the perpetrators. In addition, in several July issues of PULS, Georgievski publicly recognized VMRO's Bulgarian past.

Therefore, it would be illogical to seek a connection between stripping the Macedonian flag of the Star of Vergina and the attack against Kiro Gligorov. The adherents to the symbols related to Alexander of Macedon could be disappointed, but it is an open secret that such organizations are full of Yugo-nostalgia.

The other hypothesis, the possible participation of Albanian terrorists, is also unfounded, because the Albanians are also impatiently awaiting the recognition of Macedonia by Serbia and, in addition, they maintain good relations with the Alliance for Macedonia, whose representative Kiro Gligorov is. The Albanian parties are participating in the government, and they have no reason to struggle against Gligorov. The most likely hypothesis is that circles dreaming of joining Yugoslavia in the future, and more specifically, the Serbian minority around in Kumanovo, are dissatisfied with Gligorov. Was it by accident that the cars that participated in the attack had Kumanovo registration plates? If Serbia recognizes Macedonia, their hopes will be gone. Regardless of who the perpetrators were, their act served precisely the interests of those circles in the Republic of Macedonia that are afflicted with Yugo-nostalgia.

At this moment, the most important thing for the Macedonian authorities is to preserve self-control and successfully complete the talks with Serbia and Greece, something that will guarantee the future existence of the Republic of Macedonia as an independent state. This should be a sufficient motivation for all political forces in Macedonia to unite around this goal.

Bulgaria will undoubtedly continue to support the independence of the Republic of Macedonia and stability in the Balkans. We believe that the international public will help Macedonia at this difficult moment.

FRY Agents Said Responsible

AU0910151695 Sofia Khorizont Radio Network in Bulgarian 1400 GMT 9 Oct 95

[FBIS Translated Text] It must be immediately admitted that Kiro Gligorov will not be able to carry out his presidential duties and, therefore, new presidential elections must be held in Macedonia [The Former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia—FYROM], Krasimir Karakachanov, the Internal Macedonian Revolutionary Organization-Union of Macedonian Societies [VMRO-SMD] cochairman, thinks.

This report may contain copyrighted material. Copying and dissemination is prohibited without permission of the copyright owners.

Today the VMRO-SMD held a special news conference at which the organization's position on the attack on the Macedonian president and on the issue of who profits from it was announced.

[Begin Karakachanov recording] Those interested in revealing who was behind the attack on Kiro Gligorov must look for clues in Skopje and Belgrade, mostly in the circles that are actively working for returning Macedonia to the present Yugoslavia.

This was definitely not the act of an isolated group or a group of amateur terrorists who decided to remove a political figure.

If one looks at the tactics of the Yugoslav special services, one will see very well that those services have repeatedly eliminated their political opponents, not only on the territory of Yugoslavia or Macedonia, but also throughout Europe. [end recording]

Press Speculates on Aims, Consequences of Attack

Military Daily on Attackers

AU0610172195 Sofia BULGARSKA ARMIYA in Bulgarian 4 Oct 95 p 4

[Commentary by Petur Pudev: "Murderers Have Misjudged Democracy"]

[FBIS Translated Text] Yesterday's assassination attempt on the life of Macedonian [The Former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia—FYROM] President Kiro Gligorov can only be politically motivated. The tragic incident has two aspects.

The main question is why anyone wanted to eliminate the head of state. The second question is who lies behind the assassination attempt. Which of Mr. Gligorov's deeds was so much to someone's dislike that he took the risk of perpetrating such a heinous political crime?

The latest reports from Skopje indicate that there are prospects that the investigators will find the thread leading to the direct perpetrators of the attack. However, it is unlikely that Skopje will ever discover which individual and which force or organization ordered the murder. The details of the attack show that the assassination attempt was intended to frighten and intimidate.

Many commentaries will appear suggesting that foreign or domestic forces had an interest in the attack.

If Gligorov the politician were really the target, it is enough to recall what he wanted to accomplish. What was he on the way to achieving?

The president succeeded in freeing the logjam in which the issue of Greece's recognition of the former Yugoslav republic had become stuck. He was about to visit Athens to reach an accord on lifting the economic embargo against Macedonia that has blocked legal shipments and trade with our southern neighbor.

The mafia on both sides of the border has an interest in the present embargo since it is gaining immense profits from illegal trafficking. The brutality of the attack is in the style favored by the criminal underworld.

The day before the attack, Kiro Gligorov met Slobodan Milosevic in Belgrade and reached an agreement that Macedonia and Serbia would mutually recognize one another so that the border to the north as well was about to be opened to commerce and transport.

On the domestic front, as the state's supreme figurehead, Gligorov might present a target mainly for the Albanian minority, with its roots in Kosovo.

If the assassins were sent from these circles, the attack may be described as an operetta assassination in the style of the 19th century.

Someone wanted to stop a certain political or other development in the republic by killing the president. This fact shows that the real perpetrator of the attack underestimates democracy's continuity in the new Balkan republic.

If this conclusion is true, perhaps security protection should be stepped up for the leaders in other capitals in the region in which the democratic instruments of power have not yet been finally established.

24 CHASA: Threat to Region

AU0610155795 Sofia 24 CHASA in Bulgarian 4 Oct 95 p 10

[Unattributed editorial: "Assassination Attempt in Skopje Also Hits Bulgaria"]

[FBIS Translated Text] The attempt on the life of the president of Macedonia [The Former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia—FYROM] is extremely dangerous, and not only for our neighbors. It also represents a kind of attack on Bulgaria.

Whoever the terrorists are, they must be insane.

From the time when the fire first took hold in former Yugoslavia, peace in the Balkans has largely remained in the hands of Kiro Gligorov. Why so? According to all the experts, it is not Bosnia and Croatia, but Macedonia that is the bomb that will cause the entire peninsula to explode, because all the axes and enmities have their meeting point there.

At the moment, this expert evaluation is correct.

This report may contain copyrighted material. Copying and dissemination is prohibited without permission of the copyright owners.

Gligorov assumed the burden of the transition in Skopje, performing a balancing act between Ankara, Tirana, Sofia, and Athens. Only in the case of Belgrade could he find no arguments. And now, look, an attack has been made on his life just after his return from his first visit to Serbia.

DUMA: 'Grave' News

AU0610154495 Sofia DUMA in Bulgarian 4 Oct 95 p 7

[Commentary by Konstantin Ivanov: "The News Is Grave, the Consequences—Unforeseeable"]

[FBIS Translated Text] The news of the attempt on the life of Kiro Gligorov, president of the Republic of Macedonia, [The Former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia—FYROM] is very grave. Any attempt on human life is a criminal act that must be punished, but the expressions of alarm and outrage are naturally more pronounced when the victim is an eminent political figure in his own country.

At the moment, nothing is known for certain about the motives for the assassination attempt, its direct perpetrators, or its instigators. It is pointed out that the attempt occurred immediately following Gligorov's meeting with Serbian President Milosevic, and that it coincides in time with the talks in progress in Athens on normalizing relations between the two capitals. In this connection, the Greek Government spokesman remarked that Gligorov is encountering opposition at home to his efforts in this direction. However, this is insufficient to solve the puzzle or reach any categorical conclusions.

The attempt to assassinate the Macedonian president happened at a time when a slight ray of hope is shining through that the conflict in former Yugoslavia is approaching its end. The question logically arises whether anyone is interested in reshuffling the deck of cards or, what is worse, in bringing about what has so far been prevented with so much effort, namely the extension of the area of the conflict and causing it to flare up afresh, this time in direct proximity to our border. The most guileless concern, but one that must be mentioned, is that a new stroke of the brush will be added to the picture that exists in the consciousness of the political innocents who comprise the majority of the world's population, of the Balkans as a hotbed of wars, terror, political assassinations, and murders. The latest news on Kiro Gligorov's condition is alarming. There will certainly be no Bulgarians who will not most sincerely hope that his state of health does not become hopeless.

Police Witch Hunt Predicted

AU0610135295 Sofia KONTINENT in Bulgarian 4 Oct 95 p 6

[Commentary by Plamen Kulinski: "Assassination Attempt on Whom?"]

[FBIS Translated Text] The picture of Macedonia [The Former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia—FYROM] as one of the most peaceful former Yugoslav republics was destroyed in a few hours. Allegedly, the police there were already keeping a close watch on the population, yet suddenly there is an assassination attempt, directed not against some minor figure, but against President Gligorov himself.

This raises the question of who is interested in such a development of events. Forces evidently exist that believe that this is the way to infuse the political scene in Skopje with fresh young blood and to bring about a change. However, their calculations, if indeed they are of this kind, may well turn out to be wrong.

It is true that Kiro Gligorov is unlikely to be able to return to politics in the near future. However, the investigation will be directed toward those who have described him as "a bad Macedonian," "a Serbophile," and "a Bulgarian lackey," and have alleged that because of his apostasy the Albanians will swallow up Macedonia, the Macedonians will be brought to their knees before the Greeks, and so forth.

The assassination attempt was carried out following Gligorov's talks in Belgrade. The plan was clearly devised earlier. The plotters were only waiting for a suitable moment. The coincidence may be aimed at throwing the investigators off the trail.

The identity of the would-be assassins is uncertain. What is certain, however, is that Minister Frckovski's police machine will be turned on at full power to establish who they are, and this will cause alarm to quite a number of people in Macedonia, both ordinary citizens, politicians, and maybe also the Albanians who were recently beaten up in Tetovo.

Nachev's Statement After Attack Criticized

AU1010143095 Sofia STANDART NEWS in Bulgarian 5 Oct 95 p 6

[Commentary by Vasil Zakhariev: "Nachev Should Keep Quiet About Skopje or Tell All"]

[FBIS Translated Text] The attempt on the life of Macedonian [The Former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia—FYROM] President Kiro Gligorov caught our politicians unprepared for emergencies. They

This report may contain copyrighted material. Copying and dissemination is prohibited without permission of the copyright owners.

contented themselves with expressions of regret and condemnation of the attack.

Later, in a typically Balkan style, our neighbors started trying to win dividends from the assassination attempt.

It should come as no surprise that in the guessing game everyone is scoring points, albeit with varying success.

For example, Belgrade television blamed an extreme wing of the Internal Macedonian Revolutionary Organization [VMRO], although it was unclear which of the seven VMRO parties it had in mind. In Athens, the media sang to the same tune.

If there is any truth in the claim that semilegal business groups that have gained millions from the Greek embargo lie behind the attempt on Kiro Gligorov's life, then this is extremely alarming. It should show the great powers and the United Nations how dangerous and ineffective this system of sanctions against former Yugoslavia is, and they should remove them as soon as possible.

At home, Interior Minister Nachev also expressed regret about the assassination attempt and zealously declared that he was tightening the controls on the Macedonian border to help in detaining likely perpetrators of the attack.

If our interior minister has information that they are preparing to escape through Bulgaria, then he should disclose it, because otherwise he risks implicating us in a big scandal, from which we are unlikely to emerge unscathed.

Offer Seen as Clumsy Gesture

AU0910160195 Sofia KONTINENT in Bulgarian 5 Oct 95 p 6

[Commentary by Nikolay Golemanov: "Mr. Nachev Should Ask"]

[FBIS Translated Text] On Tuesday [3 October] Interior Minister Lyubomir Nachev sent a telegram to his counterpart in the Republic of Macedonia [The Former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia—FYROM], in which he promised total cooperation in investigating the attack on President Kiro Gligorov. (It is not known whether any other country has done the same.)

The promise would have been wonderful, had such cooperation been requested first, had there been any reports on the criminals heading for Bulgaria, or had the attack been carried out on Bulgarian territory. As it is, the telegram is nothing more than a blunder. Mr. Nachev is obviously stubborn, because yesterday [4 October] he repeated his promise on Bulgarian radio.

Why did the interior minister not offer any assistance after the attack on Shevardnadze? In a way we border on Georgia and it should not have taken much effort for the sinister perpetrators to cross the Black Sea and arrive at the Bulgarian coast, where our authorities could have surprised them with decisive measures.

The clumsy gesture of the minister is a welcome gift to those circles in Macedonia who would gladly have embarked upon the "Bulgarian connection" after the explosion in Skopje. Bulgarian-Macedonian Relations are sufficiently delicate, the situation in the Balkans complicated, and the goals of the attackers dangerously unclear, even without the minister's statement. Under such circumstances there is no place for any improvisation, even if it is inspired by a pure and sincere sense of goodneighborly relations.

Good or weak, Minister Nachev has full power and independence within his ministry. However, if he wants to show some activity in the diplomatic field, he should first ask the one who grants permits for such activity.

National Security Council Discusses Neo-COCOM

AU1010101395 Sofia Khorizont Radio Network in Bulgarian 0900 GMT 10 Oct 95

[FBIS Translated Text] According to BTA, the Consultative Council on National Security began a meeting one hour ago at the Presidency in Sofia. The meeting is chaired by President Zhelev and attended by Prime Minister Zhan Videnov, National Assembly Chairman Blagovest Sendov, deputy prime ministers, leaders of the parliamentary groups, Foreign Minister Pirinski, Interior Minister Nachev, the chief of the Bulgarian Army General Staff, and the chairmen of the Parliamentary Commissions on National Security and Foreign Policy. The participants are discussing a strategy for joining the Neo-COCOM organization [successor to COCOM, Coordinating Committee for Multilateral Export Controls].

Three Deputies Leave Bulgarian Business Bloc

AU0610085495 Sofia Khorizont Radio Network in Bulgarian 1700 GMT 5 Oct 95

[FBIS Translated Text] Today three National Assembly deputies, Nikolay Kisyov, Ivo Traykov, and Orlin Draganov, announced their decision to leave the Bulgarian Business Bloc parliamentary group. In a declaration read in the National Assembly they explained they had taken this step because they disagree with the policies followed by the Bulgarian Business Bloc group.

This report may contain copyrighted material. Copying and dissemination is prohibited without permission of the copyright owners.

Minister Says 1,000 Troops May Be Sent to Bosnia

LD0810212395 Belgrade TANJUG in English 2107 GMT 8 Oct 95

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Prague, Oct. 8 (TANJUG)—The Czech Republic will probably contribute 1,000 troops to the international peace force for Bosnia that will supervise the implementation of the peace accord to be signed between the warring sides, Czech Defence Minister Vilem Holan said on Sunday evening.

The decision will have to be made by the Czech parliament, said Holan (?and) added that he hoped the MPs would endorse the proposal.

Holan, who at the weekend inspected the Czech battalion in the United Nations peace-keeping force in Korenica, Croatia, said that all Czech peacekeepers would be withdrawn from the force before Christmas.

Havel for Pressing Ahead With NATO Membership

LD0810150495

[FBIS Editorial Report] Prague Radiozurnal Radio Network in Czech at 1315 GMT on 8 October broadcasts the regular Sunday interview with Czech President Vaclav Havel, "Conversations at Lany," which is conducted by Robert Tamchyna and is 10 minutes long. The interview opens with Havel's comments on problems in health care. In his view, the situation is rather alarming but might be improved by turning those hospitals that are not suitable for privatization into nonprofit organizations. Asked to comment on a possibility of a doctors' strike, Havel expresses the hope that they will not go on strike because there is an option of talks still available to them.

In the second half of the interview, Tamchyna says that Havel recently said that NATO membership for the Czech Republic might be discussed as soon as next year. Responding to this, Havel says: "NATO has agreed on first tackling the issue of why and how to enlarge, and only subsequently to discuss when and whom it might accept. The first point has been more or less fulfilled with the required report put together. NATO officials are to visit individual partner countries to discuss the report with them.

"However, in my view it would be good to make a decision about the second step next year, not only as regards the Czech Republic but also generally—to say when and whom and to draft a reasonable timetable that would explain various conditions attached to the membership and strategic reasons for which some should be accepted earlier and some later.

"I do not know if this is what will happen. I have not said this will be the case. I have merely said that this is something we wish for, something desirable. It is not merely in the interests of the Czech Republic; it is in the interests of all. I think, and I might have spoken about it before in these 'Conversations,' that we have already lived too long in an atmosphere of vagueness and a vacuum that directly provokes various geopolitical interests and ambitions. It is necessary to make progress in integration processes, to move more energetically, not to postpone things. This is why I think that more specific words should really be said next year than have so far been said."

The interview concludes with Havel speaking about his forthcoming visit to the United Nations.

Official: NATO Document Welcomed

LD0910140395 Prague Radiozurnal Radio Network in Czech 1300 GMT 9 Oct 95

[FBIS Translated Text] The Czech Republic welcomes the NATO document showing that the alliance is serious about its enlargement, Alexandr Vondra, Czech first deputy foreign minister, said after meeting in Prague today with the ambassadors and military attaches of 16 NATO member states. It was the first briefing at which we offered the preliminary view of the foreign and defense ministries on the recently published report on NATO's enlargement, Vondra said.

The Czech side was also represented at the meeting by Petr Necas, Czech first deputy defense minister.

Holan Opposes Referendum on NATO

AU0610174895 Prague LIDOVE NOVINY in Czech 2 Oct 95 p 3

[CTK report: "Holan Is Certain"]

[FBIS Translated Text] Vyskov—According to Defense Minister Vilem Holan (Christian Democratic Union-Czechoslovak People's Party), the question of the Czech Republic's joining NATO will be neither the key issue nor the subject of an election struggle before the parliamentary elections because the absolute majority of society approves of such a security anchorage for the Czech Republic.

Holan specified for reporters in Vyskov yesterday that this is not the "point of contest, while there are other issues of domestic policy that could become one"—money or health care, for instance. He emphasized that the question of joining NATO is "very clear"—its purpose is to guarantee the security of the country, and furthermore, all of the coalition parties approve of it, as does the main opposition party, the Czech Social Democratic Party.

This report may contain copyrighted material. Copying and dissemination is prohibited without permission of the copyright owners.

Therefore, Holan does not believe that the citizens should decide on joining the North Atlantic alliance in a referendum, as suggested by the communists at the protest demonstration in Vyskov on 30 September against joining NATO.

Focused Effort Urged To Join NATO

AU0810213195 Prague MLADA FRONTA DNES in Czech 27 Sep 95 p 12

[Commentary by Martin Schmarcz: "Generals Are Not the Ones Who Pull the NATO Cart"]

[FBIS Translated Text] Precisely at the time of the visits by the supreme U.S. military officials related to integration into NATO, several scandals concerning arms contracts erupted, and the Defense Ministry suddenly abandoned the intention of modernizing the Russian MiG fighter jets, on which it has so far stubbornly insisted. These are the visible consequences of a defense policy that lacks a long-term concept.

The Defense Ministry is not a photogenic department. The military's reputation was destroyed by the communists. The reform has other priorities—after all, increasing pensions sells better than increasing spending on arms. The future partners are justified, however, in their expectations—and the Americans pointed it out—that we would assume some of the responsibility for common security, which cannot be done without greater attention from the government and higher spending.

Of course, it is difficult to defend before the public an increase in the Army's share of the state budget from 2.5 percent to the 3 percent common in NATO member countries, when a clear and integral idea of armament modernization is lacking. The instances of MiG fighters and T-72 tanks bear witness to the Army's remaining hostage to Russian equipment and setting such faintly defined criteria for arms contracts that speculation on corruption is almost invited.

The specific problem is credited to a weak defense minister, but it must be noted that he alone cannot bear responsibility for the country's security. After all, in addition to the military aspects, security also has the foreign political, strategical industrial, and economic aspects—it certainly does not pay to save on security.

If the government intends to involve the Foreign, Finance, Economy, and Industry and Trade Ministries in the modernization of the Army, it is a step in the right direction. The Cabinet thereby indicates a change in priority toward integration into NATO, provides room for a broader political accord, and, by transferring powers from anonymous soldiers to high-ranking executive officials, also prevents corruption.

Joining NATO is of vital interest to us. Nevertheless, the generals alone cannot get us into the alliance. It takes concentrated political efforts from the highest places. The Cabinet realized this almost at the last moment. Well, at least that.

CR Getting More Than Kc100 Million for Border Areas

AU0710170095 Prague PRAVO in Czech 25 Sep 95 p 3

[Unattributed report: "The Czech Republic Will Get More Than 100 Million for the Border Regions"]

[FBIS Translated Text] Brno—The Czech Republic [CR] should get ECU30 million (102.5 million korunas [Kc]) over five years. Three-quarters of this sum should be earmarked for the development of the infrastructure in the Czech border regions.

This ensues from a document oriented toward cross-border cooperation between the countries of Central and East Europe and the European Union member states that, within the framework of PHARE [Economic Reconstruction Aid for Poland and Hungary] CBC and INTERREG II programs between the Czech Republic and Austria for the years 1995-99, has been signed in Vienna by Deputy Economy Minister Vaclav Mencl and Ulrich Stacher, the section director for coordination affairs in the Office of the Federal Chancellor.

The deputy minister's adviser, Petr Fridrich, issued this information on 23 September. The funds should be earmarked for transportation systems and developing a technical and ecological infrastructure.

Bonn's Claims for 0.5 Billion Marks Rejected

AU1010074895 Prague PRAVO in Czech 26 Sep 95 p 2

[Article by Jan Kovarik: "The Czech Republic Does Not Recognize the FRG's 0.5 Billion-Mark Claim"]

[FBIS Translated Text] Although Germany requests from the Czech Republic and the Slovak Republic the payment of 0.5 billion German marks for unrealized trade with the former GDR, the Czech Republic unofficially refers to a much lower amount.

Bonn has been confidentially negotiating with Prague and Bratislava for several years on how to deal with the situation that arose in 1990, after East German enterprises, in the expectation of unification, refused to honor already signed contracts with the Czech and Slovak Federal Republic and to accept the goods ordered.

This report may contain copyrighted material. Copying and dissemination is prohibited without permission of the copyright owners.

According to our older information from circles close to the Czech Government, there is no reason at all to pay this debt because the then Czech and Slovak Federal Republic incurred damage as a result of the GDR enterprises.

The fourth round of talks between experts on the alleged trade debt of the then Czechoslovak Federation will apparently take place in November, if the Slovak Government has discussed the issue by then, a source close to the Czech Industry and Trade Ministry told PRAVO on 25 September.

It is expected that the Czech Republic and the Slovak Republic will form a common delegation to conduct talks with the representatives of the Bonn government. The third round ended on 30 June of last year, without concluding anything other than that more talks were needed. Asked whether an agreement could be expected, the source said that this largely depends on the minimum amount asked by the German side. After all, it should admit that problems ensued for Czech enterprises because goods that they produced to fill orders were not accepted by the German side.

Klaus Discusses GDP Rise, Foreign Currency Law

AU0610130195 Prague DENNI TELEGRAF in Czech 22 Sep 95 p 3

[Interview with Czech Prime Minister Vaclav Klaus by Viktor Krejci; place and date not given: "When I Hear Zeman, I Have To Pinch Myself or Laugh"]

[FBIS Translated Text] [Krejci] The government has announced that the rise in the GDP [gross domestic product] will be considerably higher than anticipated. This would be a rather strong blow for the opposition. What is the reason for this positive development?

[Klaus] There are many reasons, which the government has known about for some time; however, we were taken by surprise by the estimate from the statistical office, which produced different figures. Now that the statistical office has published calculated figures, its amount corresponds roughly to our expectation. This means that the reasons for the approximately 4.0-percent and, according to some, even more rapid economic growth are entirely satisfactory. This situation has enabled the government to improve its forecast for 1996 and to enter into the draft state budget the rather high figure of 4.8 percent. I have to laugh or pinch myself when, at the same time, I hear Mr. Milos Zeman saying that there is a decline in industrial output. Really, this defies logic.

[Krejci] What will this almost 5.0-percent rise in the GDP mean for citizens?

[Klaus] This produced product or, expressed in different jargon, national income is what we produce and consume. This means for citizens that the cake being sliced is bigger. The result is an enormously rapid rise in wages and income. The level of real wages and salaries in our country this year will go up by approximately 8.0 to 9.0 percent, which is an absolutely unbelievable increase. This involves our wages and salaries.

[Krejci] What will happen to the koruna's exchange rate when, after the foreign currency law is approved, it becomes a freely convertible currency?

[Klaus] We took a long time to prepare the foreign currency law—especially its timing. Of course, it would be ideal if the new foreign currency law were the mere legislative confirmation of something that already existed; this means if it were not to cause any fluctuation in our exchange rate. This is our objective and, therefore, we timed it precisely to coincide with this period of stability. And, I am absolutely convinced that there should be no movement. On the other hand, it is clear that the koruna's convertibility means a certain exposure of the currency, and, when something is exposed, the wind may blow on it from this or that direction from time to time. I can say, however, that both the government and the central bank forecast continued stability for our exchange rate.

[Krejci] What is your opinion of the suggestions that the prices of gas, electricity, and other energy products be increased?

[Klaus] It is obvious that the producers are striving for something of this nature. The consumers take a different view of this issue, however, and I declare that there has simply never been a discussion on this subject at the government level.

[Krejci] What do you think of the idea that senatorial posts should only be honorary and unpaid?

[Klaus] Indeed, I personally consider the Senate to be merely an appendix to our basic constitutional system. In my opinion, the more the Senate is of this nature, the better.

[Krejci] Nevertheless, there will certainly be speculation that this is an attempt by your party to reduce in this manner the significance of the Senate as much as possible.

[Klaus] Speculation may arise, but I do not know why it should be about our party. I am stating my opinion; our party has never discussed in my presence salaries for the senators.

This report may contain copyrighted material. Copying and dissemination is prohibited without permission of the copyright owners.

[Krejci] William Perry described the Czech Republic as the best prepared for admission into NATO. What does this mean for us?

[Klaus] On the one hand, this means praise and, on the other, commitment. I think that everything is covered in this. Obviously, it is clear to everyone that admission to NATO will not be free and that this decision will require a certain upward shift in the defense allotment in the state budget. Therefore, it is also very important to consider carefully when such a step is appropriate.

Daily: Zieleniec Behind Deputy Minister's Dismissal

AU0710152095 Prague LIDOVE NOVINY in Czech 26 Sep 95 p 1

[Report by Michal Hackl and Radek Adamec: "The ODS Has Replaced Holan's Deputy"]

[FBIS Translated Text] Defense Minister Vilem Holan (Christian Democratic Union-Czechoslovak People's Party) yesterday dismissed his first deputy, Jiri Pospisil (Civic Democratic Party [ODS]), and, shortly afterwards, appointed to this post Petr Necas (ODS), a member of the Chamber of Deputies' Foreign Committee. According to Petr Fuzak, of the Defense Ministry's press service, the personnel change was made at the request of the ODS. It is apparent from LIDOVE NOVINY's information that Foreign Minister Josef Zieleniec (ODS) had the greatest interest in Pospisil's replacement by Necas.

According to a source close to the ODS, Minister Zieleniec allegedly needs someone capable of coordinating Czech foreign and defense policy in a direction toward incorporation into NATO. Jiri Pospisil apparently did not meet Zieleniec's requirements, and even his cooperation with Minister Holan was not seemingly on a good level.

The senior ODS leadership, the so-called political board, made the decision on the change in the deputy minister's post. Necas was, according to LIDOVE NOVINY's information, recommended on the basis of his linguistic ability, experience, and good contacts with NATO headquarters in Brussels. That is, since 1993, he has been the head of the permanent delegation to the Interparliamentary Union and is also on the Defense Committee of the Western European Union's assembly. ODS spokeswoman Jana Petrova refused to comment on the matter because the ODS will issue an official statement today.

Newly appointed Deputy Minister Petr Necas said the following to LIDOVE NOVINY yesterday: "All of us in the ODS felt that something was not quite right in the Army. Replacing its man at the ministry was all that the ODS could do to change the situation for the better."

The first task that Necas wants to deal with at the ministry is the Army's modernization. "I will try to promote a conservative policy, admission to NATO, and the Czech Republic's incorporation into West European structures," he said. According to him, it is more of an advantage if a deputy holds a senior political post in the executive. "These posts should be held by people who have a mandate from the voters. I think that, after the next elections, this will become more common," he added.

Jiri Pospisil, who is in Germany on official business until 30 September, described his dismissal as an, in principle, normal and common event in political life. According to him, he was informed of his dismissal by both Prime Minister Klaus and Minister Holan before his departure abroad.

This report may contain copyrighted material. Copying and dissemination is prohibited without permission of the copyright owners.

Ministry Denies Country Moving Away From NATO

AU0710152695 Bratislava SLOVENSKA REPUBLIKA in Slovak 4 Oct 95 p 5

[Report "prepared by" Stanislav Tomanek: "Cooperation of Armies Within the Program of Partnership"]

[FBIS Translated Text] Bratislava—In its policy statement, the Government of the Slovak Republic declared its efforts to obtain membership of NATO, which it considers to be the most effective existing security organization and membership of which it regards as a chance to acquire effective security guarantees. This was stated by Frantisek Kasicky, spokesman for the Ministry of Defense of the Slovak Republic, in response to the words of Jan Langos, chairman of the Permanent Conference of the Civic Institute [SKOI], at SKOI's last week's news conference that "the government of Vladimir Meciar is moving away from its declared aim, admission into the NATO and the EU." Kasicky's statement stresses that the government undertook to optimize the Slovak Republic's participation in the Partnership for Peace [PFP] program, which is a step toward reinforcing relations between member countries of the alliance and their partners in Central and East Europe and the first step toward their integration into NATO.

The statement goes on to say that, in the first stage, relations between member countries and candidates for membership were only of a consultative nature. A qualitative shift in the Slovak Republic's participation in this process was its becoming involved in planning and evaluation activities, one of the main priorities of which is participation by members of the Army of the Slovak Republic in joint exercises. The basic document governing participation in the PFP is the Individual Partnership Program, in which the Slovak Republic defined its three main interests for the years 1994 and 1995.

These include cooperation in defense planning, in the establishment of control and command systems in peacetime and in transition to the state of war, and cooperation in building the army and its structures. The second sphere of interest concerns the exchange of working groups, study stints, and expert consultations in solving the problems of building logistics systems, interoperability of automated command systems, and compatibility for standardization purposes. Finally, the third sphere is mutual training of military experts and students of military schools and participation in the exercises of command staffs within the framework of preparations for UN peace missions.

Defense Ministry Spokesman Kasicky adds that, this year, soldiers of Slovak armed forces participated in three international exercises held within the framework of the PFP. In accordance with the presentation document, the Slovak Republic undertook to set apart for this purpose one percent of the Slovak Ministry of Defense budget, which represents for this year the sum of 129 million korunas.

In this context Kasicky states that, during his visit to the United States this April, Slovak Defense Minister Jan Sitek and his U.S. counterpart, William Perry, signed the Agreement between the Government of the Slovak Republic and the United States on Security Measures in Protecting Secret Facts.

Meciar Policies Not Compatible With Integration

AU0710162695 Bratislava NARODNA OBRODA in Slovak 4 Oct 95 p 3

[Commentary by Ivan Horsky: "Kohl Has Omitted Us Once Again (by Coincidence?), Even Though the Path to Europe Leads via Bonn"]

[FBIS Translated Text] In connection with the publication of the study on NATO's enlargement, German Chancellor Helmut Kohl once again named Poland, the Czech Republic, and Hungary as the first three realistic candidates for admission. He failed to mention Slovakia. Not for the first time. This is already starting to become dangerous, at least on the diplomatic level.

Dangerous for Slovakia, not for Germany.

Unfortunately, Chancellor Kohl is not alone. The American and West European press writes in a similar spirit. Unlike Kohl, however, who tactfully remains silent on the causes of this state of affairs, the press makes no bones about the causes. It could even be said that the politicians of these countries use the media as a means of communication with Bratislava, to issue warnings against how domestic policy is being implemented in Slovakia.

Only someone who is blind and deaf, especially in the political sense of the words, does not want to comprehend why this is so. Only if he assimilated Moric's [Slovak National Party honorary chairman] by now proverbial: "That is how it is in Slovakia!" as a categorical imperative [sentence incomplete as published] However, what is being tolerated here in Slovakia need not be acceptable in organizations that we want to join. While there exists no country in which the situation is ideal, many manifestations of deformed political culture and habits that we almost take for granted at home, as part of the political folklore, as it were, arouse beyond Slovakia's borders, if not outright

This report may contain copyrighted material. Copying and dissemination is prohibited without permission of the copyright owners.

indignation, then at least the shaking of heads in total disbelief.

The prime minister, therefore, cannot be surprised that, in defiance of all of his efforts, this is precisely the reason the aforesaid Helmut Kohl, for example, has not yet invited him for a visit. While the prime minister is brandishing in public an alleged invitation from the German chancellor, he forgets to mention that it is old and was valid during his second pontificate. As is customary in diplomacy, such an invitation has to be renewed after some time—something that, according to well-informed circles in Bonn, has not happened so far. If our characteristically Slovak policy will not change, our Mr. Meciar can probably wait for a meeting with the chancellor like for Godot....

At the same time, Slovakia's admission to the EU and NATO leads directly via Bonn. As the above-mentioned study of the alliance on the admission of new members confirmed, a parallel process is involved, even though NATO's enlargement will probably come first, perhaps even five or six years earlier because the criteria for membership in the union are tougher than the criteria for joining NATO. But it seems that, without membership in the pact, there will not be membership in the union.

While it is possible to remain in this realm in a vacuum, it entails risks. I would like to remind the prime minister of his sleepless night after his conversation with Zbigniew Brzezinski in Washington some two and a half years ago. Brzezinski's deductions and potential prognoses came as a real shock to him then. It would do no harm if the prime minister recalled this shock today because not even his planned visit to NATO's Brussels headquarters can change anything about the [Western] evaluation of his Cabinet's policy.

The signals are impossible to overlook. And dictums such as "If the West does not want us, we will turn eastward" are regarded in the West, frankly, as diplomatic blackmail. And the West is not very fond of blackmailers and false promisers [slibotechnici]—this is not considered part of good breeding there.

Commentary Sees Decline in NATO 'Euphoria'

AU0610152495 Bratislava HOSPODARSKE NOVINY in Slovak 5 Oct 95 p 1

[Commentary by Bedrich Zagar: "Risks for Europe?"]

[FBIS Translated Text] Last week, the public was informed of the NATO study on its ambitions for enlarging this military alliance toward the East and also on the conditions for admitting the new members. Attention was focused, first and foremost, on the latter, that is, on the rights and obligations of the new members. Surprisingly, the reaction in our country was mixed; in essence, there was none. So far, of the Slovak politicians, only Slovak National Party Chairman Jan Slota has expressed a clear-cut opinion. In an interview for the Russian news agency, he condemned NATO's plans, its attempt to advance to the Russian border, and emphasized that Slovakia should not enter into any military bloc. It seems that the initial euphoria surrounding NATO has, to say the least, become subdued. There are some elements in the 30-page document that had a special impact on citizens, and not only in our country. One of the conditions includes the deployment of nuclear weapons should the need arise. "New members must be prepared to share in the tasks, risks, responsibility, and also costs of joint security and collective defense," states the NATO document. Even in the Czech Republic, which is one of the first candidates for admission into the alliance, more negative points of view were expressed, especially on the possibility of the deployment of nuclear weapons. The Czech left-wing parties point out that even the Warsaw Pact did not indulge in such a step. And, another sore point is the concern about how much all of this will cost. Reequipping the army, purchasing new weapons, exercises, and participating in paying for the general costs would, undoubtedly, encumber the transforming national economies of the postcommunist states. Our government and parliament should weigh up all of this thoroughly—NATO, yes or no? Such an extraordinarily serious question will necessitate a referendum, because a country's population should make the decision. The North Atlantic alliance's Brussels headquarters has drawn up a study on the process for admitting the new members from central and eastern Europe at the urging of these countries. The reaction of these countries following the publication of the conditions for membership is, however, controversial. It seems that the initial keen interest in NATO membership was, to a considerable extent, a political demonstration of these states' endeavor to affiliate themselves to the economic and military structures of western Europe and, first and foremost, to secure economic support from them. Incidentally, the whole plan for enlarging NATO toward the East still faces a major obstacle in the ever increasing resistance of the Russian Federation. NATO's assurance that the alliance's enlargement is not directed against any state and is merely of a defensive nature does not satisfy the Russians. They will hardly reconcile themselves to this and NATO can ill afford a trenchant confrontation with Russia that could destabilize the situation in Europe. After all, the possibility of the deployment of nuclear weapons on the territories of the potential new member states could create a nuclear wall right in front of Russia's nose, which, in itself, would be a dangerous game. Do Europe and the world need such risks?

This report may contain copyrighted material. Copying and dissemination is prohibited without permission of the copyright owners.

Meciar Returns From Central European Summit

LD0710191195 Bratislava Rozhlasova Stanica Slovensko Network in Slovak 1700 GMT 7 Oct 95

[FBIS Translated Excerpt] The Warsaw summit of the prime ministers and foreign ministers of the Central European Initiative member states has ended with an adoption of closing documents. [passage omitted]

The plane with a Slovak delegation led by Prime Minister Vladimir Meciar landed at Bratislava airport less than an hour ago. Our colleague Jozef Rebo was among the journalists who accompanied the delegation. [passage omitted]

[Rebo] Asked by Slovak Radio whether Slovakia was satisfied with the two-day Warsaw summit, Vladimir Meciar said:

[Begin Meciar recording] I think that Slovakia's importance was considerably enhanced at this summit. Thanks to a good harmonization with the Czech politicians led by Prime Minister Klaus, which logically ensued from the issues themselves as there was no prior agreement between us, we have in fact managed to influence all decisive moments of the deliberations. The adopted conclusions correspond to what was proposed by the Slovaks, in fact everything we suggested was fully accepted.

The role played by the Slovak Republic and the Slovak delegation in these deliberations was extraordinarily important. This applies both to the efforts to push through positive programs and to the attempts by some to play a role of a judge, look for those who to blame for the developments in Yugoslavia and isolate some people. We have rejected this and preserved the Central European Initiative as an open space for all those who are interested in a discussion. [end recording]

Official on CEI Enlargement

LD0810213295 Bratislava Rozhlasova Stanica Slovensko Network in Slovak 1700 GMT 8 Oct 95

[FBIS Translated Excerpt] The outcome of the two-day summit of prime and foreign ministers of the Central European Initiative [CEI] countries, which ended in Warsaw yesterday, is already known. Jozef Rebo will now sum up some activities of the Slovak Republic, which contributed to the overall positive outcome of the conference.

[Rebo] [Passage omitted] Jozef Sestak, the state secretary in the Foreign Ministry, spoke about some developments at the meeting. Shortly before his departure from Warsaw yesterday, Sestak first responded to the view that there exists a certain unease regarding the specific usefulness of the CEI.

This is what Jozef Sestak told the daily PRAVDA and the Slovak radio:

[Begin Sestak recording] Several prime ministers, including the Slovak, Czech, and Polish prime ministers spoke critically at the conference. They said that while ideas, proposals, and projects were good things, the failure to implement them will mean that the desired effect will not be achieved.

The speech delivered on our delegation's behalf by Mr. Meciar had amounted to a virtual encouragement of and a proposal that the CEI should return to the initial objectives that prompted its founding.

Czech Prime Minister Klaus had further expanded this idea. It was not a case of coordination, of course, but (?his speech was similar). because he said that economic cooperation should be singled out in some way, because in this respect he regarded CEFTA [Central European Free Trade Association] as the organization of main importance. I would like to say that our views are very close on this issue. Klaus said he would prefer to use the CEI platform as a platform for a broad political dialogue where problems will be identified and proposals put forward. So, as you can see, there are various schools of thought. I ought to tell you though that this position is close to our thinking at the present time.

(?Individual CEI) states are prepared to switch to the liberalization of mutual trade, free capital movement, free movement of services, but not to a free movement of people. We have not got that far yet.

But I do not wish to consider the CEI and this summit only from the viewpoint of this criticism. I would like to say that we had a priority and I am very glad that, thanks to our prime minister, who was supported by Klaus and others, we have succeeded in getting this priority through. Our priority was to enlarge the CEI by five states—Albania, Belarus, Romania, Bulgaria, and Ukraine. [passage omitted] That, in my view, was the main success of the conference. [passage omitted] [end recording]

Meciar on Republic's Relations With IMF

LD0910165795 Bratislava Rozhlasova Stanica Slovensko Network in Slovak 1100 GMT 9 Oct 95

[Interview with Slovak Prime Minister Vladimir Meciar by correspondent Jarmila Tosecka; place and date not given—recorded]

[FBIS Translated Text] [Tosecka] Much has been said in the past in our country about the likely response of the IMF to some government's moves not only in economic, but also in the social sphere. If my memory

This report may contain copyrighted material. Copying and dissemination is prohibited without permission of the copyright owners.

serves me right, the draft of the state budget had to be consulted with IMF experts and every loan was pegged to tough conditions. Today it is as if the IMF dropped from the game. The only thing that is known is that it has not yet demonstrated any mistrust in the new model of coupon, or rather, bond privatization. What is the current relationship between the IMF and the Slovak Republic?

[Meciar] The IMF is an important organization, because possessing credibility in the eyes of the IMF opens up the doors to all other world banks.

It was very difficult to get over the 1993 and 1994 years. It was possible only at the cost of achieving confidence in Slovakia's economic policy. But this breakthrough occurred as early as in 1993. It was natural that we needed loans, but these loans were in fact a ticket for obtaining other loans from banks elsewhere in the world.

Our situation is a little different at present. Agreements on loans for the year 1995 have been accepted. But, as is generally known, we turned them down. There were two reasons for this. The first one is that the Slovak Republic's economic situation is improving, and for that reason it is absolutely correct to channel IMF resources to places where the situation is considerably worse. The second reason is the fact that the previous government signed an agreement according to which both men and women should retire on old age pension at the age of 65. This is unacceptable for my government and this will not happen while this government is in office.

Naturally, since we refused to meet one of the conditions, we were unable to draw the loans.

From the viewpoint of the present talks we are pleased to say that both Deputy Prime Minister Kozlik and National Bank Governor Vladimir Masar are able to present positive economic results to the IMF: The external convertibility of the crown and the permanent growth of currency reserves. For example, during my nine-month term in office, many have reproached us for the absence of foreign investments in Slovakia. However, few have noticed that our own reserves have grown by $1 billion. Here we have a positive development, of which the Slovak Republic has evidence, that certain instruments of economic policy that we used are effective and are working in our republic. That is likely to be pleasing for the IMF.

When Mr. Kozlik visited the IMF at the beginning of this year, they openly admitted to him that the Slovak Republic was the most pleasing mistake committed by the IMF.

[Tosecka] We are, indeed, please to hear that. Prime Minister, at the recent talks in Trencianske Teplice the government considered the structure of Slovakia's future. In this context you said—and I will quote—the government has a clear program of economic, social, cultural, and other activities for the year 1996 and until the year 1998. We believe that there is no other realistic alternative to this program.

Prime Minister, what arguments have you have based this on?

[Meciar] Essentially, when one compiles a program one has to know what the objective is, how it is to be achieved, and where the funding should come from. Regarding considerations that there should be other alternatives, then the other existing alternatives have no idea how to go about implementing it and they do not at all know where the funding should come from. The government, while discussing the program for 1996 with the outlook to 1998, answered all three questions.

The priorities we plan to tackle next year and the ways of attaining these goals have been clearly set. But what is the most important thing is that we know where the resources are with the help of which this can be done. Each government-sponsored project and policy for (?the future) enjoys a realistic material support.

While considering resources, we also considered the redistribution processes, which, coupled with the resources could yield enough money that will allow us to stabilize the health care and education, to begin to develop science and allocate additional funding to it. It will allow us to sustain the entire social system and improve it. Some of the activities could contribute to a strong revival of the government's policy in the sphere of investments and technology.

All these are the steps that could yield fresh activities in the years to come because they are not aimed at consumption. It is at the cost of imposing a certain limit on consumption that we are achieving a greater intensity of development. The limits on consumption will be lifted in 1997.

The reason for my saying that this is the only alternative is that I have not as yet read any other alternative. One politician objected to this claim of mine by saying that they have an alternative, a left-wing alternative. But I have not read it. This means that it will have to be produced in writing and that it has not been properly produced.

That is why we are able to say that the above alternative is an alternative tailor-made for the Slovak Republic. There are no adjectives describing it as a left-wing or a right-wing one. It is a Slovak Republic Government program.

This report may contain copyrighted material. Copying and dissemination is prohibited without permission of the copyright owners.

Kovac Rejects Civil Servants' Resignation Call

AU0610131895 Bratislava SME in Slovak 4 Oct 95 p 2

["Declaration by the Office of the President of the Slovak Republic on the District Office Chairmen's Statement"]

[FBIS Translated Text] Bratislava—At their meeting in Banska Bystrica on 27 September 1995, the (30—editor's note) chairmen of district offices adopted a statement on the political stands of the president of the Slovak Republic. In this statement, they negatively assess the activities of the president of the republic at home and abroad and, at the end, they call on the head of state to resign from the post of president of the Slovak Republic. It is the right of every citizen of our state to freely express his views on the representative of any constitutional institution, including the president of the republic. What surprises and gives rise to concern, however, is that, in this case, criticism and the appeal to the president of the republic have come from the chairmen of district offices in the capacity of the posts they occupy, that is, from civil servants. The post of district office chairman makes it binding on its holders to represent the state and all its constitutional bodies, including the head of state, in the district in which they are active, and to do so consistently from a bipartisan position. It is therefore deplorable that the signatories of the statement allowed themselves to be drawn into the political conflict between representatives of constitutional institutions and assumed a distinctly partisan, rather than a civic, position. Such conduct is principally inconsistent with the status of a civil servant in democratic countries and calls into question one of the important instruments of the execution of state administration. The Office of the President of the Slovak Republic is authorized to categorically reject the assertions contained in the statement, particularly the charge that the domestic and foreign political activities of the president of the republic have been "aimed at belittling the evolving principles of the Slovak Republic's democratic development." In fact, precisely such politically motivated and biased stands of civil servants toward the head of state complicate our social development and the political situation in the districts and in the country as a whole and devalue the mission of civil servants.

Campaign To Discredit Kovac 'Stepped Up'

LD0610161595 Bratislava Rozhlasova Stanica Slovensko Network in Slovak 1400 GMT 6 Oct 95

[FBIS Translated Text] The Office of the Slovak President has released to TASR news agency a statement which notes that the intentional disinformation campaign aimed at discrediting the president has been recently stepped up and that even the proper execution of the president's duties, as laid down by the constitution and the laws, is described as the abuse of power.

The statement emphasizes that last time Prime Minister Meciar dealt with this issue he said that the government was disturbed by the fact that the president of the Republic was asking constitutional officials to supply information of an intelligence nature which was inadmissible from the moral, political, and legal point of view.

The Office of the President notes that such statements are misleading the public as well as exposing their authors' ignorance of the law because, according to the Constitution, requesting reports from the government or its members constitutes one of the president's rights.

Meciar Views Dispute With President Kovac

LD0610204095 Bratislava Rozhlasova Stanica Slovensko Network in Slovak 1700 GMT 6 Oct 95

[Regular Friday interview with Prime Minister Vladimir Meciar by Correspondent Jarmila Tosecka; place not given—recorded]

[FBIS Translated Excerpt] [Passage omitted] [Tosecka] We cannot ignore one burning issue—the considerable tension between the highest constitutional state institutions, a tension which, inevitably, polarizes our society. [Passage omitted]

Prime Minister, some time ago you outlined three options for solving the unacceptably tense situation. First: Michal Kovac's voluntary resignation; since then, he has said that this is out of the question. Second: his dismissal by parliament; this does not seem to be particularly realistic either, because the coalition does not have a constitutional majority in parliament. Third: a referendum. What do you think about all this as prime minister and the leader of the strongest political grouping?

[Meciar] The prime minister has continued making realistic assessments of the functioning of our democratic system. The parliament goes on working on democratic principles and remains capable of action. The government still works under the protection of the laws, and so far no one can accuse it of violating the laws. The law courts are making independent decisions and as soon as the Constitutional Court concludes that this or that law is not in line with the Constitution, it freely expresses its view. We may or may not like the view, but we all respect it. All this bears out that the machinery of

This report may contain copyrighted material. Copying and dissemination is prohibited without permission of the copyright owners.

democratic decisionmaking in state administration does work.

The unusual feature in the whole situation is that parliament has expressed no confidence in the president of the Republic. Likewise, the government has expressed no confidence in him because, first, of the way he conducts his activities, which are seriously damaging the external interests of the Slovak Republic. Casting doubt on the democratic system of the state constitutes an action which in politics is very hard to forgive. Second, parliament has expressed no confidence in the president against a certain specific background—namely, in connection with the activity of the intelligence services vis-a-vis some constitutional representatives: Parliament Chairman Gasparovic, myself, and others.

We have been particularly disappointed that the president continues doing all this. We refuse to work under such conditions. We are not criminals. We are constitutional representatives. No state would tolerate this kind of thing.

The other important thing is that the supreme bodies must coordinate to a certain extent their activities as regards the fundamental interests of the state. It is an unacceptable situation when during a visit by an important official from abroad, the major part of his one-hour talks, which should be devoted to strategic issues, is devoted to insulting the Slovak Government.

Our vision of the president has been that of a man who does not take sides, who stands above the parties; simply an authority uniting people thanks to his moral aura, not dividing them. One must react to this. Above all, I would like to say that the reaction must not go against the democratic principles of the state. Democracy is a method which must be preserved and protected. All of us naturally share responsibility for the existing situation, both the government coalition parties and the opposition parties.

What we need is to be finally free to devote ourselves to our work. The government has been self-critical, admitting that since it came to power its members have exclusively devoted themselves to economic, social issues, and international relations, without getting involved in political conflicts. This was in a way a mistake, and therefore, from now on, we have to play a more active role in that process and clearly express our view.

If there is an issue that parliament should tackle in order to bring about a consensus, this is it. This problem is the only legitimate business for parliament, the one parliament should discuss.

Various variants are available to parliament. One possible variant is for us to reassess the possibility for shortening the term of office. Another variant is to assess observance of the Constitution as regards his activities. I am opposed to this second variant as there is no need to compromise people; these matters should be closed.

The situation is as follows: if the president continues to cast doubt as he is currently doing, he will cause a certain international isolation of the Slovak Republic. He would force us into a struggle between two mutually opposed internal camps. What sense does it make? What do we care for? Our state or only ourselves?

When I received parliament's vote of no confidence, it was painful, but I left the office and made a comeback in a democratic way. A vote of no confidence in him does not constitutionally mean that he has to leave the office, but it is a political and moral appeal. His existence should not be self-centered [Nemoze existovat ako sam pre seba]. The president should be here for all, not just for some.

This is the substance of the conflict currently under way in Slovakia. It is being very frequently interpreted as a conflict between Kovac and Meciar. It is not such a conflict, as whoever would be in my place would face identical difficulties. [words indistinct]

Political Scientist Views Meciar-Kovac Conflict

AU0710162595 Budapest NEPSZAVA in Hungarian 6 Oct 95 p 9

[Interview with Miroslav Kusy, professor of political sciences at the Comenius University in Bratislava, by Ferenc Kepecs; place and date not given: "Vladimir Meciar Is Not Even a Nationalist"]

[FBIS Translated Text] Slovak Prime Minister Vladimir Meciar again recently called upon President Michal Kovac to resign but, similarly to previous such requests, Michal Kovac flatly refused to comply. How long can their conflict continue? we asked Miroslav Kusy, professor of political sciences at the Comenius University in Bratislava.

[Kusy] How long can this continue? According to the intentions of the prime minister, to the very end—namely, until Kovac gives up and resigns.

[Kepecs] Why is Meciar sticking to this?

[Kusy] Because he is a typical authoritarian leader who only needs people to carry out his will rather than cooperation or partners. His mentality has been the major problem for Slovakia since he became prime minister.

[Kepecs] What does the president have to say about all this?

This report may contain copyrighted material. Copying and dissemination is prohibited without permission of the copyright owners.

[Kusy] Michal Kovac's position is clear: He will not give in to pressure and will not resign, and he is right in doing so. He is needed to counterbalance the government and the parliament ruled by the governing party. This is what the principle of power distribution requires, this is democracy.

[Kepecs] What caused such a confrontation between the two politicians? Is there any conflict in their political programs?

[Kusy] It is difficult to answer this question because Meciar does not have a political program. He makes decisions overnight, in the spirit of absolute pragmatism.

[Kepecs] Is he more nationalist than Kovac?

[Kusy] Meciar is not even a nationalist. He makes use of nationalism when he needs it, and he distances himself from nationalism when his interests dictate so. The classic example for this is his attitude toward Hungary and the ethnic Hungarians living in Slovakia. First he "made use" of them as enemies and, later, when he needed it, he signed the basic agreement.

[Kepecs] Is there any difference between Meciar's attitude toard the ethnic Hungarians in Slovakia and Kovac's attitude toward them?

[Kusy] Yes, there is. In this respect, Kovac has always focused on dialogue and on clarifying the positions. Meciar has never bothered with such things.

[Kepecs] To what extent does this conflict between the president and the prime minister affect relations between Budapest and Bratislava?

[Kusy] I hope not too much. This is not only the affair of the two countries in question, but also a European affair. The EU messages to Meciar are clear: If Slovakia wants to become a EU member one day, he must settle its relations with Hungary. Similar signals arrive from the United States as well. Only Meciar's coalition partner, the Slovak National Party, causes problems here, but this party is weak.

[Kepecs] Where is Slovakia heading under Meciar's prime-ministership? Towards Europe or back East?

[Kusy] Of course, every democratic force would like to take Slovakia into Europe. As for where Slovakia is really heading, this is a matter of struggle. One thing is certain: Meciar's prime-ministership is not the triumph of democracy. One should know, however, that the prime minister's popularity is decreasing.

[Kepecs] What is your opinion about the affair of Kovac's son—namely, his kidnapping to Austria and his recent release?

[Kusy] It seems that we are talking here about a manifestation of political terrorism. The special unit of the Slovak Police, a unit that is totally under Meciar's control, was involved in this affair. Obviously, the aim was to also use this to put pressure on the president. And it is really strange that the government does not want to bring the president's son back.

[Kepecs] Hungarian Prime Minister Gyula Horn called Meciar a reliable person. Would you also call him a man that keeps his words?

[Kusy] Not at all. Meciar only keeps his word as long as this is in his interest. His "forgotten" electoral promises and the way in which he is delaying [the ratification of] the Slovak-Hungarian basic treaty are good examples of this. Do you know that a special book was published in Slovakia two years ago on Meciar's broken promises and obvious lies? There is now ample material for a second volume!

Daily Queries Aims of President's FRG Visit

AU0710152195 Bratislava SLOVENSKA REPUBLIKA in Slovak 5 Oct 95 pp 1-2

[Article by "lh": "Will the President Go to Germany To Seek Favors for His Son? The Office of the President Does Not Have the Right to Its Own Foreign Policy"]

[FBIS Translated Text] Bratislava—Slovak President Michal Kovac will visit Bonn on 12 and 13 October, at the invitation of the Konrad Adenauer Foundation, to deliver a lecture on "The Slovak Republic's Path to European Structures." Interesting about this visit is that, as an unofficial part thereof, Michal Kovac is to meet with President Roman Herzog for breakfast on the morning of the second day of the visit. A number of urgent questions have surfaced in this context, however.

The common practice in the world and also in Slovakia is that one informs about foreign trips the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, which cooperates in their organization and provides background material if necessary. In the case of the president's trip to Germany, everything has been somewhat different.

The Germans Are Better at Providing Information

As we have learned from well-informed sources, the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Slovak Republic first learned about the planned trip by the head of state to Bonn from Germany. Only later, six days (!) after receiving a query from the ministry, did the Office of the President announce that Michal Kovac's trip to Germany would indeed take place and asked for cooperation in organizing it. Yet the invitation from Germany had been addressed to the Office of the

This report may contain copyrighted material. Copying and dissemination is prohibited without permission of the copyright owners.

President of the Slovak Republic several months earlier, without any provisions for the aforementioned breakfast.

Only Eye to Eye?

The presidential breakfast was to be attended by Michal Kovac plus one person. That, at least, is stated in the program of the visit. However, this one person will not be the ambassador of the Slovak Republic to Germany, even though, under the protocol, it is inevitable that the president be accompanied by the ambassador throughout his stay. It is even likely that Michal Kovac and Roman Herzog will meet only eye to eye.

Other Questions

There is nothing extraordinary about two presidents meeting unofficially only eye to eye. What could be interesting, however, is the timing of the meeting. Recently, President Michal Kovac was cementing good relations with his Austrian counterpart Thomas Klestil. Obviously, at issue was not so much cooperation between the two countries as a family affair, in which feature money, Interpol, and the good name of the country that the head of state represents. Is the president of the FRG the next in the row, after the highest representative of Austria? And yet another question comes to mind. Is it possible for the Office of the President of the Slovak Republic to conduct its own foreign policy, without coordination with the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, and to solve family affairs and personal interests under the cloak of integration efforts?

Daily on Role of Sacked SIS Staff in Kidnapping

AU0710162795 Bratislava SLOVENSKA REPUBLIKA in Slovak 5 Oct 95 p 3

[Commentary by Miroslav Sasky: "Who Was the Beneficiary?"]

[FBIS Translated Text] With the passing of time, the affair provoked by the abduction of Michal K. Jr. abroad has evolved into a "trench war" between the police and the secret service, but also between the opposition and the coalition. Until now, the accusations that the Slovak Information Service [SIS] participated in, or even itself organized, this criminal act are still based solely on the impressions of some politicians and on claims that the operation had been organized by professionals. And such professionals supposedly exist only in the SIS.

Well, let us concede that it was an operation that was carried out by professionals. But what aim did the commotion they caused pursue? After all, it is obvious at first glance, even to a layman, that the scene of the assault is much frequented during daytime hours and that, given the surrounding (family homes and industrial infrastructure), it must have been assumed that there would be many witnesses. Therefore, if professionals chose precisely such a locality, they definitely did not intend to keep the action, and its perpetrators, a secret. Otherwise, it could have only been the "work" of dilettantes. Perhaps even more suspicious is the large number of participating persons (8 to 12), which also indicates that it was not the work of an official secret service. If any one of us laymen intended to commit a similar act, he surely would not have hired more than one fellow perpetrator and definitely would not have chosen such a busy street, leaving aside other circumstances that quite needlessly (or intentionally!) attracted attention. After all, much better conditions for such an operation would have existed in the vicinity of the abducted person's home. Could it be that everyone realizes this, with the exception of professionals? To say nothing of the fact that, if the abducted person had really been shadowed, a far more appropriate locality could have been chosen.

Yet, apparently, no one is interested in all this. Someone has come up with the sole correct version of the case and is doing all he can for it to be confirmed. This is also indicated by the mysterious letter from a mysterious gentleman, supposedly an SIS employee, published in yesterday's NARODNA OBRODA. The alleged secret service member admits in the letter that, acting at the order of an unspecified superior, he was shadowing Michal K. Jr. and, on the day of the kidnapping, was among those who "created the smokescreen." SIS vehicles had supposedly blocked the road to prevent vehicles from passing through. Another interesting thing is that, through NARODNA OBRODA, he asked his colleagues "who were involved in the operation along with him" to back him and to say what really happened. He even gave their names and, according to NARODNA OBRODA's information, these names really belong to SIS members.

We do not intend to anticipate the results of the investigation because everything really is possible in our country, even that, for a bribe, employees of state agencies are capable of violating laws (be it by committing a violent act, giving false testimony, or otherwise). This is also confirmed by information cited in NARODNA OBRODA. It would be interesting to know from where NARODNA OBRODA has the information that the names mentioned in the letter really are the authentic names of SIS employees. Is it not possible that someone, possibly a person reared in that daily [apparent allusion to Igor Cibula, former chief of SIS Counterintelligence, who also used to be NARODNA OBRODA commentator and deputy chief editor], betrayed facts that are subject to state secret? It is completely irrel-

This report may contain copyrighted material. Copying and dissemination is prohibited without permission of the copyright owners.

evant whether he did so for money, out of sympathy, or out of hatred. If one person (present or former SIS employee) was capable of this, why could not someone else, also a professional (former member of the SIS, the Federal Security and Information Service, or the State Security Corps [communist-era secret service]), commit a terrorist act, out of the same motives, and blame it on someone else? In this case, the amateurishness displayed in the first phase of the case, and the professionalism of the second phase, would affirm that true experts were at work. In this context, the question comes to mind whether it is true that, immediately after his improvised news conference, Major Simunic [the first, meanwhile dismissed, investigator of the case] he had been visited at the [Bratislava Police Corps] Regional Administration by Mr. Mitro [former SIS director] (also a professional). This has allegedly been reported by [Czech private] NOVA Television. What was he doing there? And, in general, how is it possible that the opposition, particularly Jan Carnogursky, gets hold of hot information before the police does?

The endeavor to call an extraordinary meeting of the National Council of the Slovak Republic, the sole topic of which should be precisely the secret service, is another matter bearing out that this case no longer has anything to do with Michal K. Jr. but with struggle for power. However, it is not only a struggle for ministerial seats but also for comfortable jobs for professionals who had been dismissed from the secret service. When these two longings are blended, incredible things can, indeed, happen. Ask again, in the words of Michal K., the father—who was the beneficiary?

This report may contain copyrighted material. Copying and dissemination is prohibited without permission of the copyright owners.

'At Least 2 Days' Delay in Cease-Fire Predicted

AU0710140995 Paris AFP in English
1342 GMT 7 Oct 95

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Sarajevo, Oct 7 (AFP)—Bosnian government officials predicted Saturday [7 October] that the start of a breakthrough countrywide truce, due to come into effect on Tuesday, would be delayed by at least two days.

"The feeling here is that the ceasefire will be late because utilities will not be restored to the city in time. I just don't think it can happen by Tuesday, it will be delayed by a couple of days," said Mirza Hajric, a foreign ministry official.

Restoring gas and electricity supplies to Sarajevo was a pre-condition for Bosnia's 60-day truce to start. But, problems with turning on gas supplies in Russia and delays to repairs on power lines around the capital means the one minute past midnight Tuesday deadline will not be reached, Hajric said.

A delay though does not threaten the agreement itself. Brokered by US mediator Richard Holbrooke last Thursday the accord has a clause stating that a truce can "become effective at 0001 hours on the day following such restoration."

A Bosnian Croat representative joined a meeting Saturday of Bosnian Serb and government officials on demining an area west of the city so that electrical repairs can begin.

Bosnian Croat agreement is needed since the mines to be moved were laid by the Bosnian Croat militia, the HVO. The man failed to turn up to a similar meeting scheduled Friday.

UN peacekeepers said that a "maximum" of five days were needed by UN engineers to mend a power line that supplies the western areas of the city. A second line is ready to be switched but Hajric said both power cables were needed to fulfill the agreement.

"One without the other doesn't mean a lot because half the city would be in darkness and we don't consider that that would be a restoration of the utilities," the official said.

Problems have also arisen with gas for the capital. Piped from Russia, the gas comes via Hungary and Serbia and then across Bosnia to Sarajevo. An earlier dispute over an unpaid gas bill was resolved last week after the Bosnian prime minister visited Moscow and Russian President Boris Yeltsin said the gas would be turned on in time to meet the Tuesday deadline.

On Saturday however, UN spokeswoman, Myriam Sochacki, said the Hungarian gas company had "not received the necessary authorities from the state gas company in Moscow to allow the gas to flow."

The Bosnian ambassador to Hungary, Bisera Turkovic, contacted by phone, said the Hungarians are "absolutely ready to turn on the gas but we cannot trace the man in Moscow responsible for making this decision."

Once gas reaches Hungary, another four days are needed for pressure to build-up in the pipeline and Sarajevans can then turn on their fires. Turkovic said she expected the gas would not arrive until Monday "at the earliest."

News of the likely hold-up comes as UN officials reported that "around 5,000" government troops have massed in the area of Klujc, a town captured by the Bosnian army last month but lately threatened by a Bosnian Serb counter-offensive.

"Our assessment is that it is more like containment troops than an offensive group of soldiers. However, it is possible the two sides are trying to capitalise on last minute gains as we approach the ceasefire," a UN official, who requested anonymity, said.

Both the Bosnian army and the Bosnian Serbs have been jockeying for position on the battlefield ahead of peace talks slated for the coming weeks, first in Washington and then probably in Paris.

Gains in central Bosnia have been claimed by government forces fighting south of the Serb held town of Doboj, an area in which UN officials said they expected more pressure to be applied.

Izetbegovic: Truce Conditions Not Fulfilled

AU0710171095 Paris AFP in English
1655 GMT 7 Oct 95

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Sarajevo, Oct 7 (AFP)—Bosnia's President Alija Izetbegovic said he did not believe that a countrywide ceasefire for Bosnia would begin first thing Tuesday [10 October] as orginally slated.

He told reporters that the truce, conditional on restoring gas and electricity supplies to Sarajevo, would not begin as planned "because the conditions have not been fulfilled."

Izetbegovic was speaking at in Fojnica, 40 kilometers (25 miles) west of Sarajevo, where he held talks with other Bosnian government officials and with the UN commander for southwest Bosnia, Brigadier Andrew Pringle.

This report may contain copyrighted material. Copying and dissemination is prohibited without permission of the copyright owners.

Earlier a Bosnian foreign ministry official said the start of the 60-day ceasefire would be delayed by two days because of problems with restarting gas and electrical supplies to the city.

The US-brokered ceasefire, announced Thursday, was due to come into effect from midnight Monday local time.

It is intended to serve as a prelude to proximity talks among Bosnian, Croatian and Serbian leaders in the United States leading to a fully-fledged peace conference to be held in Paris.

Roads Still Not Open

AU0910190295 Sarajevo Radio Bosnia-Herzegovina Network in Serbo-Croatian 1800 GMT 9 Oct 95

[FBIS Translated Text] Alija Izetbegovic, president of the state presidency, today received the U.S. ambassador to our country, John Menzies. They discussed the cease-fire, which according to the agreement reached, should take effect tonight, one minute after midnight.

President Izetbegovic, who has just returned from a tour of Bosnia, at which he reviewed preparations for the cease-fire with the commanders of the Army of Bosnia-Herzegovina, has concluded with regret that conditions for the cease-fire, which have been agreed between the Bosnian and the U.S. delegations, have still not been met.

Power and natural gas have not arrived in Sarajevo, nor has the road to Gorazde been opened. In addition, the chetniks checkpoint is still present on the road to Sarajevo from the direction of Kiseljak, which is in total contradiction with the decision of the United Nations and NATO on unobstructed traffic on this road.

Regarding yesterday's crime against the civilian population in Zivinice and Tesanjka and the repeated attacks on a number of towns in Bosnia-Herzegovina today, President Izetbegovic told the U.S. ambassador that we demand and expect an energetic response by the United Nations and NATO to these criminal attacks. If we want a stable cease-fire, these crimes should not go unpunished, Izetbegovic stressed during his talks with the U.S. ambassador to Bosnia-Herzegovina, John Menzies.

Izetbegovic Views Zivinice Incident, Cease-Fire

LD0810193895 Sarajevo Radio Bosnia-Herzegovina Network in Serbo-Croatian 1900 GMT 8 Oct 95

[FBIS Translated Text] Alija Izetbegovic, president of the Bosnia-Herzegovina Presidency, has made the following statement in connection with the tragic incident that took place in Zivinice today and its possible impact on the peace process:

[Begin Izetbegovic recording] Unfortunately, I heard what happened there immediately before I passed through Zivinice. I can only say that this is a proof that they are no longer an army—they have transformed into sheer terrorists. They are successful only in this domain—they are killing women and children with success. The Zivinice incident shows that we are dealing with sheer terrorism. In the military field they are no longer capable of doing anything, and are thus venting their frustrations. That is all I can say.

We are dealing with terrorists. I think that this will not have any impact on the issue of the cease-fire. There are conditions that we have set for the cease-fire that refer to Sarajevo and Gorazde. If they are met there will be a cease-fire. If they are not met, there will be no cease-fire until these conditions have been met. This is all I can tell you. [end recording]

President Comments on Federation, Cease-Fire

LD0710200495 Sarajevo Radio Bosnia-Herzegovina Network in Serbo-Croatian 1800 GMT 7 Oct 95

[FBIS Translated Excerpt] Alija Izetbegovic, the president of the Bosnia-Herzegovina Presidency, held talks in Fojnica today with Kresimir Zubak and Ejup Ganic, the president and the vice president of the Federation. This afternoon President Izetbegovic visited Zenica and the trade fair taking place there. Ejup Ganic, Army General Rasim Delic, and Interior Minister Bakir Alispahic accompanied President Izetbegovic. Mujo Delibegovic reporting.

[Delibegovic] [passage omitted] After a brief meeting with the patients, President Izetbegovic discussed behind closed doors the current issues of the functioning of the Federation with Kresimir Zubak and Ejup Ganic. After the meeting I asked President Izetbegovic to comment for Bosnia-Herzegovina Radio-Television on the main topics of today's tripartite meeting in Fojnica.

[Begin recording] [Izetbegovic] I have come here to do two things: To visit Zenica and to have a meeting with both Ganic and Mr. Zubak. You can see that the Federation project is proceeding slowly, turning in circles at times, taking two step forward and one backward. I think that we agreed on some specific measures that need to be taken in order to speed up the implementation of the federation. This is in fact a whole package of measures that need to be implemented over the next month or two, before the end of the year.

My impression is that there is goodwill to do this on both sides, which is the most important thing. I think that the political will is there, which is the basic premise. But, as I said, this is a package of measures, some

This report may contain copyrighted material. Copying and dissemination is prohibited without permission of the copyright owners.

of which will be implemented simultaneously and for some the subsequent time of implementation will be established.

I am personally an optimist that this will work. It is very important that it should work because if there is no peace, the first cornerstone of the future Bosnia-Herzegovina, of the federation, has been started, but not completed. This is a very important issue in the context of future peace.

[Delibegovic] Did you talk about the latest cease-fire? Are there grounds for optimism that the cease-fire will be observed?

[Izetbegovic] We did not talk about that because we had earlier agreed to accept the cease-fire. As you know, Mr. Zubak was a member of the delegation and we accepted it.

Some conditions are not [word indistinct], I do not think that they will be met in time. The cease-fire should come into effect on Tuesday night [10-11 October]. Of course, under the condition that gas and electricity are restored to Sarajevo and that the road to Gorazde is opened. Maybe they will open the road to Gorazde, but gas will most probably not be restored for a few more days because there are difficulties. In order for the gas supply to be restored by Tuesday, it should be opened up at the Hungarian border, and I think this is not the case. [end recording]

[Delibegovic] Here is what Kresimir Zubak and Ejup Ganic had to say about the talks.

[Begin recording] [Zubak] It is certain that the Federation project is the only project that is in the interest of both the Croat and the Bosniak Muslim nation. There has been a certain delay, for objective and subjective reasons, I believe, mainly because the outcome of these p[illegible] talks has been awaited. On the other hand, as people know, there has been intensive fighting and our efforts were focused on that.

It is now definite that the federation project has to be implemented. As Mr. Izetbegovic said, we agreed on some concrete measures, we exchanged ideas and opinions, and there is now a greater degree of accord to go in that direction.

[Ganic] We made a global analysis of what has been done, why things have not been done, and how we can go on and strengthen the state from within. We agreed that these processes must be started, that we must finally impose a single set of laws throughout the federation. This was one of the things we discussed with Mr. Zubak and President Izetbegovic, to initiate this in the Presidency of both the Federation and the republic, to rally all forces to give an impetus to this process, because every peace process is based on the premise that the federation is functioning, or must start functioning.

We must create a united territory, a territory of equal opportunity for industry and trade, and of course, we must ensure the protection of private property and the return of people to their homes. We have to sort out the cantons so that local authorities in the cantons start working.

I had time to think about all the obstacles and problems facing the federation. This stagnation, which has been caused partly by my accident, must now be compensated by the involvement of the Federal Assembly and other state bodies. [end recording] [passage omitted]

Izetbegovic, German Ambassador View Reconstruction

AU0610203995 Sarajevo Radio Bosnia-Herzegovina Network in Serbo-Croatian 1800 GMT 6 Oct 95

[FBIS Translated Text] Alija Izetbegovic, president of the Presidency of the Republic of Bosnia-Herzegovina, today received Johannes Preisinger, ambassador of the Federal Republic of Germany to Bosnia-Herzegovina. Talks touched upon the conditions for the coming cease-fire, the peace negotiations that may begin in the United States at the end of the month, and the reconstruction of Bosnia-Herzegovina. Both sides agreed that the role played by Germany, a European and world economic superpower, would gain in importance as peace and human rights begin settling increasingly in Bosnia-Herzegovina.

Silajdzic: Attack on Camp Could Stall Talks

LD0810192895 Sarajevo Radio Bosnia-Herzegovina Network in Serbo-Croatian 1800 GMT 8 Oct 95

[FBIS Translated Excerpt] A CEI [Central European Initiative] summit, attended by our delegation, ended in Warsaw yesterday. Stevo Latinovic asked Prime Minister Haris Silajdzic on the phone whether the outcome was good for Bosnia-Herzegovina. [passage omitted]

[Begin recording] [Latinovic] The opening of the gas supply to Sarajevo is one of the conditions for the acceptance of the cease-fire. What if it is not restored by the set deadline?

[Silajdzic] There will be no cease-fire. But I think that what is even more serious is the fact that the Serb terrorists are still killing our people, and we are continuing to hold talks. I have not yet talked with the presidency president [Alija Izetbegovic] about that. I hope we will be able to do that today. If these attacks

This report may contain copyrighted material. Copying and dissemination is prohibited without permission of the copyright owners.

continue, I think we should postpone the talks until the international community is capable of ensuring the conditions which will guarantee the basic security to our citizens.

This was an attack on children and a refugee camp. This was the murder of children, the worst phase of crime, something I have no words to describe. Obviously, this is the best way to cut the talks short. If the international community fails to respond to attacks like this, then there is no point in holding talks. I will tell you why. There is no credibility. Those who are holding talks cannot guarantee us that what we agree on will be implemented and observed. [end recording]

Ganic Views Acceptance of Peace Settlement

MS0610121895 London ITV Television Network in English 1800 GMT 6 Oct 95

[Telephone interview with Ejup Ganic, Bosnian Vice President, by Zeinab Badawi; Ganic in Sarajevo, Badawi in London; from the "Channel Four" newscast: live]

[FBIS Transcribed Text] [Badawi] Mr Ganic why did your Government decide to accept this cease-fire deal now and not, say three months ago, six months ago, a year ago, or whatever?

[Ganic] Well we had many reasons to sign this agreement, but I will personally mention four of them—First, we would like to ease living conditions for non-Serbian population on the occupied territory controlled by Karadzic's [Bosnian Serb Leader] forces. As you know conditions are now terrible, as they have been in the past, but now we have stories that disturb everyone. That was the number one point. Number two, to open roads to Goradze to supply food and medicines for people of Goradze. Number three, to provide electricity, water and gas for Sarajevo. Number four, to create conditions for overall peace negotiations. So these are, from my point, four major points although we might look now as the losers on the military side.

[Badawi] Well actually let me put that to you, because the cynic could suggest that you now want peace because in fact you've regained most of the territory you wanted anyway in your recent joint offensive with the Croatians?

[Ganic] Well not really, we did not regain enough territory at all, we have a situation more or less similar as before because we doubt proper settlement on private ownership. It is not possible to achieve stable peace in Bosnia, and recent military gains by our army created conditions to go ahead. So right now we are stopping our machinery, we are doing very well, together with Croats, but now we have to freeze that and to abandon our plans to gain more territory, because we feel that at the end private ownership should be the basic rule for settlement.

Komsic Sees Opening of Sarajevo as 'Key'

AU0610174795 Sarajevo Radio Bosnia-Herzegovina Network in Serbo-Croatian 1400 GMT 6 Oct 95

[FBIS Translated Text] The cease-fire agreement and particularly the mechanisms for enforcing it were touched upon in talks held at a meeting between Presidency Member Ivo Komsic and Ignacio Cortinas Dorado, head of the European Monitoring Mission for Political Issues, and his associate Vassilis Nihoglu. Komsic pointed out that the agreement is an introduction to holding the peace conference and that President Clinton's announcement that it would be prepared by the end of this month was encouraging.

The monitors were particularly interested in the fact that the opening of Sarajevo and the ways to allow expelled people back to their homes and help them to recover their property is not mentioned in the agreement.

Komsic pointed out that Sarajevo is the key to the success of the coming negotiations and that the Serbs have unilaterally committed themselves to NATO to open the city.

As for the return of those expelled, Komsic said that this would be a complex task, but that a start must be made from something, however long the process might last.

Holbrooke's Negotiating Methods Examined

AU0610174595 Sarajevo Radio Bosnia-Herzegovina Network in Serbo-Croatian 1400 GMT 6 Oct 95

[Interview with Dr. Ivo Komsic, Bosnia-Herzegovina Presidency member and leader of the Croatian Peasants' Party, by Dzevad Cucukalic on 6 Oct; place not given—recorded]

[FBIS Translated Text] [Komsic] By signing the cease-fire yesterday, we have only taken the first step toward peace. One should not be too much of an optimist as regards the final peace, but we had to take this first step because it is a precondition for holding a peace conference and for finally solving the crisis in Bosnia-Herzegovina. This is what our friends in the world have demanded of us. After all, we are now in a situation in which our negotiating position has been improved compared with when we held negotiations in Bosnia-Herzegovina, Geneva, and on other occasions.

This report may contain copyrighted material. Copying and dissemination is prohibited without permission of the copyright owners.

These negotiations regarding the preconditions for a cease-fire lasted a few days. Of course, we need a cease-fire, because everything that can be solved around a table should not be solved with arms as this is paid for with human lives, suffering, destruction of property, and the like. Nevertheless, we were unable to go below a certain minimum and we set as a condition the complete opening of Sarajevo, the supply of natural gas and electricity, access to Gorazde, and the demilitarization of Banja Luka. We were not able to resolve these four issues, which are very important now, at this stage, but the first two have been resolved and we think that things will go the way they have been signed. If this fails to happen, the cease-fire will not begin until the conditions are met, that is, the conference that is planned to take place in the United States [words indistinct] will not begin until everything happens as agreed.

[Cucukalic] Dr. Komsic, can you tell us about the course of these [word indistinct] talks, considering the brief statements?

[Komsic] Of course, not for a moment during the talks and even today have we known at what stage they are, as Mr. Holbrooke and his team had chosen such tactics. They would not tell us what they had agreed in Belgrade and I do not believe that they told Belgrade what they had agreed with us. This is why such a result could be achieved after several such meetings. As a participant in these talks, I could only discern that Mr. Holbrooke was showing a certain optimism, albeit not [word indistinct], not by what he said and so on, as he is very restrained, but with the topics that he was raising in the talks. They [word indistinct] to us all the key topics that would be raised only when a cease-fire was signed, when a full, definitive peace came about in Bosnia-Herzegovina.

Therefore, this optimism is not [word indistinct] from what is heard and said, stated, or concluded, but [words indistinct] a direct impression from these topics that Mr. Holbrooke raised in the talks with us. We believe that Mr. Holbrooke broached the same topics in Belgrade as well, and only he knows what stage these negotiations have reached because he knows what he talked about with us and in Belgrade. We, of course, do not know what [words indistinct]. [endall]

MBO Regards Cease-Fire Accord as 'Unacceptable'

AU0610181595 Sarajevo Radio Bosnia-Herzegovina Network in Serbo-Croatian 1400 GMT 6 Oct 95

[FBIS Translated Text] The Muslim Bosniak Organization [MBO] welcomes every step toward a just peace that will ensure that an integral, democratic, federal, and secular Republic of Bosnia-Herzegovina is preserved, MBO Deputy Chairman Mujo Kafedzic has pointed out, but it is not clear to us why the cease-fire is not coming into force for five days. Who has been granted this period during which a very complex military operation could be launched?

The MBO deputy chairman also pointed out that the conditions for signing the agreement are unacceptable for our side. Why the lifting of the blockade on Sarajevo or the opening of Sarajevo and Tuzla airports have not been conditions for signing the cease-fire agreement, and whether supplying natural gas and electricity to the city is sufficient reason to sign the agreement, are questions to which the MBO thinks answers are needed.

In our opinion, agreeing to the Geneva act is leading to a division of Bosnia-Herzegovina and we cannot accept this, Kafedzic said, and added that Bosnia-Herzegovina must have jurisdiction over its entire territory.

Karadzic Says Serbs To Comply With Cease-Fire

AU0910182295 Paris AFP in English 1805 GMT 9 Oct 95

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Belgrade, Oct 9 (AFP)—Bosnian Serbs will strictly comply with the U.S.-brokered cease-fire agreement that is to go into effect in Bosnia-Herzegovina at midnight, their leader Radovan Karadzic said.

Serb forces will undertake no military action, SRNA news agency quoted Karadzic as saying. He called on the international community to bring the Bosnian government to also respect the agreement.

The Bosnian foreign ministry earlier announced it was postponing the planned implementation of the cease-fire, as conditions had not yet been met.

Karadzic Comments on Cease-Fire, Negotiations

AU0610112995 Banja Luka Srpska Televizija Serbo-Croatian 2015 GMT 5 Oct 95

[Report by Vlado Slijepcevic on news conference by Bosnian Serb leader Radovan Karadzic with foreign and domestic correspondents in Banja Luka on 5 October—recorded]

[FBIS Translated Text] [Slijepcevic] This evening, Serb Republic President Radovan Karadzic held a news conference in Banja Luka at which the cease-fire agreement and the continuation of the peace initiative in the former Bosnia-Herzegovina were of most interest.

[Karadzic, in Serbo-Croatian] Early this morning, sometime before dawn, we signed an agreement on a cease-fire that is to commence at 0001 on 10 October, and implies a complete cessation of all hostilities in accordance with international law. By that time, life should

This report may contain copyrighted material. Copying and dissemination is prohibited without permission of the copyright owners.

have been made easier for Sarajevo regarding communal services, and we think that we will do so unless the Muslim side sabotages the start of the cessation of hostilities.

We believe that this is another step, a great step after the Geneva and New York Agreements, toward a conference. I derived great pleasure today watching President Clinton announcing that the Proximity Talks will begin on 25 October in New York, and that the conference will take place in Paris. Perhaps there is some symbolism in the fact that the final conference will take place in Paris, since Yugoslavia was established with Paris agreements and the finale of its crises should probably be regulated with Paris agreements. Unfortunately, the Paris agreements were not observed when Yugoslavia was being broken up, but perhaps these documents will help the pan-Yugoslav crisis being solved in a more just way, taking into account the Paris agreements as international documents that are guaranteed by all the great powers.

[Slijepcevic] What would happen if the Muslim side again sabotaged the agreed cessation of hostilities was one of the correspondents' questions.

[Karadzic, in Serbo-Croatian] The time has come for all the pressures and [word indistinct] the Serbs [word indistinct] completely unjustifiably. If one side starts avoiding the implementation of the cessation of hostilities agreement, or the Geneva and New York Agreements, the entire international community will, I believe, use all the means at its disposal to force it to comply.

[Slijepcevic] The correspondents asked the president about the situation on the fronts.

[Karadzic, in Serbo-Croatian] If this cease-fire holds until the conference, then this is probably an announcement of the end of the war. The moment NATO pulled out from the war against us, we consolidated our lines, and since the Croatian Army is a bit less active, we are again within the framework of a civil war. We are again superior in the civil war. We are defending ourselves and returning our people to the temporarily occupied territory. Of course this civil war has a certain balance, and we do not intend to take and pacify the entire Bosnia. That is not our goal. However, Croatia, as a separate state, and NATO, as the most powerful force in the world at the moment, do not want to take sides in this war—they do not want to take sides—since that would just prolong the war. If we remain within the framework of a civil war, the Serb side can defend itself. We are not afraid of any enemy operations, although we believe that it is unnecessary to continue the war since neither the Muslims and Croats in Bosnia-Herzegovina can defeat us nor can we defeat them, and we do not wish to, in the sense of taking their territories and thus pacifying the entire Bosnia.

[Slijepcevic] In response to a question asked by an Associated Press correspondent about the conditions that the Muslims have set regarding the opening of roads from Gorazde, Serb Republic President Radovan Karadzic said:

[Karadzic, in English with superimposed translation into Serbo-Croatian] Yes, we are ready to open Gorazde by opening two roads: one from Gorazde to Rogatica and Sarajevo, that is, Pale-Sarajevo, and the other, from Gorazde to Rogatica, and the Sokolac-Belgrade route. We shall implement this, there is no doubt of that.

[Slijepcevic] The REUTERS correspondent asked about Kljuc and the liberation of occupied territories.

[Karadzic, in English with superimposed translation into Serbo-Croatian] We almost have Kljuc in our hands. I believe that we do not need to fight for territories because we do not accept the results of the latest Muslim-Croatian offensive, that is, the offensive of the Croatian regular army under NATO patronage. This is not legitimate and we do not want to found our state on this. We demand the lines to be as they were on 8 September, that is, that the 8 September situation be regarded as the factual state.

[Slijepcevic] The BBC correspondent expressed interest in the ethnic war, conflicts, and territory. Serb Republic President Radovan Karadzic said that, in the course of the war, only the Serb side had been honoring all conditions and agreements. He also stressed that certain territories needed to be discussed and that the rights of the Serb people in the Serb Republic had to be observed, in the same way as on the other two sides. President Karadzic stressed that the Serbs in the Serb Republic do not intend to live under the Zagreb regime, just as Sarajevo Serbs do not intend to live under the Muslim regime.

A Serb Radio correspondent asked the president what the Serb Republic was supposed to do until 10 October when the cease-fire is supposed to go into force.

[Karadzic, in Serbo-Croatian] We need to defend our territory, consolidate lines, and carry out preparations for—hopefully—an end to the combat. Of course, we need to be cautious; we have agreed to sign the cease-fire with the best intentions and hope that this will really be so, but knowing our enemies, we need to be extremely cautious, that is, we must prepare for the end of the war, but also for possible tricks that would mean the continuation of the war.

This report may contain copyrighted material. Copying and dissemination is prohibited without permission of the copyright owners.

[Slijepcevic] How would you comment on the conflicts between he Croat-Muslim sides, particularly in the former Republic of Western Bosnia [self-proclaimed state of Fikret Abdic]?

[Karadzic, in Serb-Croatian] These are conflicts over territory, conflicts between two false allies that were not brought together by history or interests. The only reason for their alliance was to oppose the superior Serbs, because while they were disunited, they could not achieve anything against the Serbs. As you can see, even when united, they could not harm the Serbs until the Republic of Croatia and NATO's air force came to their assistance.

[Slijepcevic] Is the cease-fire real, will it finally bring us joy? This was the last question for the Serb Republic president, Dr. Radovan Karadzic.

[Karadzic, in Serbo-Croatian] Every end of a war should be accompanied by triumph, but we do not feel and do not wish to feel triumphant because, on the one hand, the war is not over yet and, on the other hand, we are satisfied with the fact that the Serb Republic has been accepted as a reality and a fact. Of course, we are sorry about the great number of casualties after 30 August that were a result of NATO strikes and Croatia's interference in the civil war; that is why we are not triumphant, but we feel great satisfaction because of the possibility that the war will end. If there are no more questions....

Official Says Serbs 'Eagerly' Await Cease-Fire

LD0810163795 Belgrade SRNA in Serbo-Croatian 1445 GMT 8 Oct 95

[FBIS Translated Excerpt] Kragujevac, 8 Oct (SRNA)—Serb Republic Vice President Nikola Koljevic has said that the Serbs have done everything for the cease-fire to come into effect as agreed, and that they are awaiting midnight of 10 October, when the cease-fire is to begin, eagerly and with great faith.

In the Hallmark of Time program of Radio Kragujevac, Koljevic specified that "the complete restoration and repair of the gas, electricity, and water supplies to Sarajevo, and the free access to Gorazde" were the issue.

He said that the Serb side has the deepest commitment to peace, and those who are trying to raise obstacles—and he mentioned the latest request, made by the other side, to put off the date the cease-fire is due to begin—will have no success.

"Reconstruction has already been discussed in Rome. Italy, Canada, and Japan, as members of the G-7 group, attended the meeting, which shows that the topics which will be on the agenda immediately after peace is restored, are already being discussed. The whole world is counting on peace as a fait accompli, and we have no reason to doubt the capability of the world powers to impose peace on those who are not ready for it," Koljevic said. [passage omitted]

Koljevic said that considering the existing military provocations, the Serb side will adopt both active and defensive attitude, and that it will not abandon its positions, especially because of the agreement on the access to Gorazde.

"But the general decision is not to launch any offensives", Koljevic stressed.

"It is difficult to predict when the final document on peace in Bosnia will be signed," Koljevic said and added that he was sure peace, as well as "a just division of territory", would come.

"There will be a just division not only because we want it, but because this is in the interest of the international community, since a just division of territory will guarantee a safer peace and political stability," Nikola Koljevic said in conclusion.

Bosnian Serb Official Upbeat on Peace Prospects

LD0710173695 Belgrade SRNA in Serbo-Croatian 1652 GMT 7 Oct 95

[FBIS Translated Text] Banja Luka, 7 Oct (SRNA)—Biljana Plavsic, the vice president of the Bosnian Serb Republic [RS], today expressed moderate optimism about the final outcome of the agreement on the cessation of hostilities in former Bosnia-Herzegovina.

In a statement for SRNA, she said there was still hope that the agreement will bring about the final peace "because the United States, which set in motion the peace process, will not easily allow its international reputation to be compromised."

"True, Washington needs this peace because the presidential election campaign is approaching, and it is believed across the ocean that, unless Clinton resolves the issue of former Bosnia-Herzegovina, he could go down in history as the least successful U.S. president," Mrs. Plavsic said.

According to her, "there have been many meetings and conferences on former Bosnia-Herzegovina, but it has been clear that no success can be achieved at diplomatic table if there is a war on the ground."

"I hope that unlike before when the Muslims and Croats were breaching every cease-fire agreement with impunity, this time they will have to observe the authority of and guarantees contained in the signed documents," Biljana Plavsic said.

This report may contain copyrighted material. Copying and dissemination is prohibited without permission of the copyright owners.

Pale Serb Socialists See Accord as 'Crucial'

AU0610203795 Belgrade RTB Television Network in Serbo-Croatian 1830 GMT 6 Oct 95

[FBIS Translated Text] The Socialist Party of the Serb Republic [Serb entity in Bosnia-Herzegovina] considers the agreements on cease-fire and constitutional principles crucial for the successful conclusion of the peace process.

The Socialists from the Serb Republic stress in a statement that the peace conference will create the opportunity not only for renewal, progress, and development, but also for the full reintegration of the Serb people in the current world, democratic, and civil processes from which they have unjustifiably been excluded.

Karadzic Accuses Muslims of Undermining Peace

LD0910191295 Belgrade SRNA in Serbo-Croatian 1828 GMT 9 Oct 95

[FBIS Translated Text] Banja Luka, 9 Oct (SRNA)—Radovan Karadzic, president of the Serb Republic [RS] and supreme commander of the Armed Forces, warned in Banja Luka today that the Muslims had staged the massacres in Zivinice and Tesanjka in order to provide reasons for undermining the peace process and for fresh NATO attacks against the Serb people.

"These are well-known stereotypes and cliched insinuations and butchering of one's own people, which as a rule the Muslim side resorts to whenever it wants to undermine a peace action," Karadzic stressed in a statement for SRNA.

According to the RS president, "in this instance the Serb side cannot do anything but let God decide what to do with those who resort to such tactics, and it will be good if the international community was to realize this and stop buying such Muslim goods, because these are pure criminal acts."

President Karadzic voiced the expectation that the international community will prevent the Muslims' intentions and that it will exert pressure on Izetbegovic's government to observe the start of the cease-fire.

According to President Karadzic, the RS will strictly and rigorously observe the cease-fire, which comes into effect at midnight, and it will ask the international community to ensure that the Muslim side does the same.

"The Serbs will not undertake military operations, as specified in the cease-fire agreement. We still believe that the United States is the guarantor of peace and that it will bear in mind our willingness to cooperate in its efforts to reach the final peace treaty," the RS president said in a statement for SRNA.

Official Doubts Muslims To Observe Cease-Fire

AU0710180695 Banja Luka Srpski Radio Network in Serbo-Croatian 1800 GMT 6 Oct 95

[FBIS Translated Text] Deputy president of the Serb Republic, Biljana Plavsic, said today that she doubts the Muslims will observe the cessation of hostilities agreement, which should come into force on 10 October, and was signed yesterday.

This is not the first time that a document on cessation of hostilities was signed. The Muslim-Croat military coalition regularly broke such agreements, said Dr. Plavsic to Radio Samac [Bosanski Samac], and remarked that there were many attempts at resolving the crisis in the former Bosnia before the U.S. peace initiative.

I must add that this is not due to the U.S. desire to establish peace here, but to the desire to score points in the diplomatic field, particularly before the preelection presidential campaign begins, stated Dr. Plavsic, and emphasized that no peace solution can be achieved without establishing a cease-fire beforehand.

Karadzic Addresses SDS Leaders on Peace Process

LD0710104795 Belgrade SRNA in Serbo-Croatian 0948 GMT 7 Oct 95

[FBIS Translated Text] Banja Luka, 7 Oct (SRNA)—The 27th session of the executive committee of the Serb Democratic Party of the Serb Lands [SDS SZ] resumed in Banja Luka yesterday evening [6 October] with an introductory address by SDS SZ President Radovan Karadzic about the current political and military situation in the country, and the peace process, which will determine the future of the Bosnian Serb Republic.

Speaking about the agreement reached on the basic principles and the cease-fire agreement, the president of the republic recalled that "the Serb people have no secrets to keep from the international community: It is not true that they do not wish to remain in any form of Bosnia-Herzegovina".

President Karadzic added, however, that "If it is better for the Serb people to be in such a union, rather than outside it, this does not mean that it cannot stay within it." He said that this is not a political, but a democratic question.

"The political question is to create a [Bosnian] Serb Republic and a Muslim-Croat federation so that they are able to form some union together, while the democratic question is whether the Serbs will remain in this union or not," the president of the Serb Republic explained.

This report may contain copyrighted material. Copying and dissemination is prohibited without permission of the copyright owners.

After the speech by Dr. Karadzic on the situation on the front lines, and the course of the peace negotiations, the session continued behind closed doors. The session will also discuss preparations for holding an SDS SZ assembly.

Serbs Favor Russian Troops To Police Peace

LD0710175495 Belgrade SRNA in Serbo-Croatian 1655 GMT 7 Oct 95

[FBIS Translated Text] Sarajevo, 7 Oct (SRNA)—Momcilo Krajisnik, president of the People's Assembly of the Serb Republic, has confirmed in a statement for SRNA that the Serbs oppose the deployment of NATO troops that are expected to control and impose the implementation of the peace process in ex-Bosnia-Herzegovina.

"Once a just demarcation has been established only a small force will suffice to separate the confronting sides. There is no need to impose a political solution as we assume that it will be reached by agreement between both sides in the conflict," Krajisnik stressed.

The assembly president stressed that, if the other side insisted on the deployment of a large number of soldiers, the Serb negotiators will demand that they be sent from those countries whose approach to solving the crisis in ex-Bosnia-Herzegovina is objective.

"We will primarily insist on forces from Russia. The NATO pact that has carried out aggression against the Serb people does not inspire confidence in safeguarding a peace that will not be to our detriment," Krajisnik said in conclusion.

Karadzic Views Territorial Issues, Liberation

AU0710183995 Banja Luka Srpski Radio Network in Serbo-Croatian 1800 GMT 6 Oct 95

[FBIS Translated Text] President of the Serb Republic, Dr. Radovan Karadzic, visited Sanski Most today, where he met with representatives of the wartime presidency of this municipality. After that, President Karadzic and his associates visited the command of one of the units of the 2d Krajina Corps. Drasko Ignjatic has a report.

[Ignjatic] President of the Serb Republic, Dr. Radovan Karadzic, visited Sanski Most today, where he had a short talk with the president of the wartime presidency of this municipality, Nedeljko Rasula, and his associates. After he was informed mostly of the humanitarian and the political and security situation in the municipality, President Karadzic visited the soldiers of the Army of the Serb Republic on the Kljuc-Petrovac [Bosanski Petrovac]-Krupa [Bosanska Krupa] front. Talking about past events on this front, Dr. Karadzic expressed his satisfaction with the change, and said:

[Begin Karadzic recording] From the political point of view, it is very important that all the stories, all the false maps that are being presented, have been destroyed. There have been no deals, no maps—we want to liberate our country, and everything we liberate will surely be within our state, and perhaps even some of what we do not liberate, on the basis of the census: no one can say that Drvar was theirs, because there were only three families there that were not Serb. However, the best thing to say is that what we liberate, what our army takes, will be within our state [end recording].

[Ignjatic] The president of the Serb Republic took this opportunity to consider one more time the importance of the ceasefire agreement for the former Bosnia-Herzegovina.

[Begin Karadzic recording] None the attempts at putting an end to the war were headed by America, and it used to happen that precisely the America encouraged the Muslims to give up on the peace that was close at hand. However, this time America is determined that there be peace, and America's main opponent are Muslims this time—their political and military leadership. The international community is quite unanimous in that aspect, and find that the Serbs are the most cooperative. Serbs are completely cooperative as far as the establishment of peace is concerned [end recording].

[Ignjatic] The chances for ending the war are great, but we have to continue to defend ourselves, even after 10 October, said President Karadzic, emphasizing that the state will have the obligation to compensate for the property that the refugees have lost, and guarantee the safety of the people in the Mount Grmec area.

Return of Occupied Lands

LD0710174095 Belgrade SRNA in Serbo-Croatian 1655 GMT 7 Oct 95

[FBIS Translated Text] Banja Luka, 7 Oct (SRNA)—Radovan Karadzic, president of the Serb Republic, said today that part of the occupied territories in western Krajina and on Mount Ozren would be returned by military means, and the rest by political means, and stressed that "the timing of the peace is favorable for the Serbs."

"On the basis of the Geneva document of 8 September, when our republic was recognized for the first time, we will demand during the negotiating process that the occupied territories be given back to us," Karadzic stated at a news conference in Banja Luka.

This report may contain copyrighted material. Copying and dissemination is prohibited without permission of the copyright owners.

Speaking about the current military-political situation in the republic and about the results of the peace process, President Karadzic stressed that the Serbs were on the way to creating a unified [jedinstvena] Serb state, and that this project would could about "very soon."

Party Considers Military-Political Situation

AU0710203195 Banja Luka Srpska Televizija in Serbo-Croatian 1930 GMT 6 Oct 95

[Report by Vlado Slijepcevic]

[FBIS Translated Text] Tonight in Banja Luka, the Executive Committee of the Serb Democratic Party of the Serb Lands [SDS] is discussing the current military-political situation and the negotiating process.

[Unidentified correspondent] The meeting is a continuation of the 27th session and is attended by Radovan Karadzic, president of the Serb Republic and SDS president. After the members agreed on the agenda, Radovan Karadzic expounded the current military-political situation and the negotiating process. He looked back on the Geneva and New York talks as well as on some current issues regarding the survival of the Serb nation west of the Drina River.

[Karadzic] We do not have any secrets before the international community. We do not want to remain in any kind of Bosnia-Herzegovina. If we do remain, that will be only temporary. A document we signed with the Muslims says we do not want to remain in that union, though we do not exclude the possibility of staying in the union if we are better off in the union than outside. In other words, our nation will...[changes thought] This is now a question of democracy, it is no longer a political question. Forming the Serb Republic and the Bosnia-Herzegovina Federation and their union is a political question. Then follows a question of democracy: whether we will remain in the union or get out. [end Karadzic]

Radovan Karadzic, president of the Serb Republic and the SDS, has again emphasized the importance of truth and fight against enemy propaganda and spreading of disinformation. We set the scene for political negotiations, and now it is most important that we keep our territory, take care of and accommodate our refugees, emphasized President Karadzic. In the second part of the session, the SDS Executive Committee plans to view the situation in state bodies as well as the implementation of decrees and regulations. The session will also view the preparations for the upcoming party assembly about which it plans to make an official announcement.

Mladic Reportedly Orders Arrest of Generals

AU0610152195 Sarajevo OSLOBODJENJE (Bosnian) in Serbo-Croatian 1 Oct 95 p 5

[Report by Djuro Kozar: "Generals Behind Bars"]

[FBIS Translated Text] The arrogant Ratko Mladic has recently proven that he is a loser: He has ordered the arrest of the officers of the so-called "Serb Republic Army," accused of losing territory, soldiers, and military hardware. An investigation has been opened, and they could be put on trial in the military court in Banja Luka or some other occupied town. Following the loss of some 4,000 square kilometers, about 1,000 Chetniks, and a large amount of weapons, such a move could have been expected from Mladic.

First To Escape

The names of the arrested people have not been made public in Pale, Banja Luka, or Belgrade, put the indications are that sanctions are to be taken against the officers of the so-called 2d Corps of the "Serb Republic Army," which was completely routed in the offensive by the Bosnia-Herzegovina Army and the Croatian Defense Council [HVO]. Western and central Bosnia were the theater of operations of this chetnik corps, and that territory has been lost to Karadzic. This has created great panic, and the Serb population has fled to Banja Luka and even further. Now the electronic media in Pale are trying to prove the need for the people to return to their homes in Mrkonjic Grad and Prijedor, but it is hard to persuade frightened people to go back.

According to some information, among the officers that have been arrested are two generals—Radivoj Tomanic, commander of the so-called 2d Krajina Corps, and Momir Zec, commander of the 30th Division of that corps, whose headquarters used to be in "Srbobran," which is what the Chetniks called Donji Vakuf. According to the Serb soldiers who have given themselves up to the units of the Bosnia-Herzegovina Army, the two of them were the first to flee their command posts for Banja Luka, and they were apparently arrested while trying to escape to the so-called "Yugoslavia."

The fact that Tomanic, Zec, and some other officers of the "Serb Republic Army" were arrested while trying to cross the Drina River made NASA BORBA conclude that the arrested men had worked for "Yugoslav" interests and had been following orders from certain institutions in Belgrade. The fact that the officers of the "Serb Republic Army" were on the payroll of the former Yugoslav People's Army and are still paid by the Belgrade general staff confirms the assumption that they have been doing what they were instructed to do by

This report may contain copyrighted material. Copying and dissemination is prohibited without permission of the copyright owners.

the counterintelligence service [KOS], which is headed by Major General Aleksandar Dimitrijevic, one of Aca Vasiljevic's best pupils.

Even before these arrests of "Serb Republic Army" officers, there was speculation in some Belgrade independent papers that Generals Tomanic and Zec had received instructions from the so-called "Yugoslavia" not to resist when the Bosnia-Herzegovina Army and the HVO launched their offensive, but to withdraw the army and the people, so that the 51:49 percent division—allegedly already agreed to at the negotiating table—would be achieved on the ground. Even if there had been such calculations, the authors of the plan could not have expected that the armed forces of the Bosniak-Croat federation would liberate as much territory as they did, and that an entire Chetnik corps and about 1,000 "Serb fighters" would be destroyed.

Routed Army

If Tomanic and Zec had such orders, is it possible that Belgrade's main players, Mladic and Gvero, knew nothing about them?

These arrests of a group of Chetnik officers should be relativized—they may be released through lack of evidence, and the price will be paid by the commanders of lower tactical units, such as the commanders of companies and platoons. The army lies on their shoulders and, even in peace times, the army hierarchy of accountability somehow always stops at that level.

Mladic and his "main headquarters" are obviously trying to tighten the responsibility in the demoralized army with these arrests. The desired effect is that the brigade commanders cannot remain indifferent at seeing that even generals can be arrested and held accountable for losses. There has been a lot going wrong recently in the commands of the Chetnik brigades, which could easily be detected on the ground. When a brigade commander "tightens the reins," then the company and platoon commanders have no choice but to follow suit, come what may.

According to some seized chetnik documents (and Bosnia-Herzegovina Army General Staff Spokesman Ferid Buljubasic spoke about these recently), Karadzic's goal is to keep the percentage of the occupied territory from falling below 49 percent. One of the reports of the "Serb Republic Army" literally says: "If we do not hold half of the former Bosnia-Herzegovina, we will not be taken as serious negotiators. We will be treated as rebel Serbs."

That is why Mladic had to go straight from surgery to the front, to save what he could before the offensive operations by the Bosnia-Herzegovina Army and the HVO, particularly as the Belgrade regime has not (yet) agreed to the Bosnian Serbs getting less than 49 percent of the Bosnia-Herzegovina territory.

Zubak: 'Unwise' To Insist on 51:49 Division

AU0910131195 Split NEDJELJNA DALMACIJA in Serbo-Croatian 6 Oct 95 p 2-3

[Interview with Kresimir Zubak, president of the Federation of Bosnia-Herzegovina, by Zeljko Ivankovic; place and date not given: "The Posavina Region Will Be Part of the Federation"]

[FBIS Translated Text] [Ivankovic] You have not been to Sarajevo for a long time. What is the real reason for it now, why is the president of the Federation is in Sarajevo?

[Zubak] There are many reasons why I am here. Meanwhile, I should perhaps say why I was not here before. There are also many reasons for that. First of all, there are reasons of an objective nature. Namely, the circumstances were such. For some time there were fierce battles to lift the blockade of Sarajevo; it was very difficult and risky getting in and out of Sarajevo. On the other hand, we stopped the process of talks and negotiations on setting up all the Federation's bodies of authority. We have held talks with officials of the Bosniak-Muslim nation in Split, Jablanica, and many other places on how, from the organization that has been achieved with the Federation, to move to a new phase, that is, the complete building of all Federation institutions. We have obtained arbitration over the controversial questions from Mr. Roberts Owen. Now that the U.S. initiative has started and the Geneva agreement and now the New York agreement have been accepted, it has emerged beyond doubt that two entities are to be organized in Bosnia-Herzegovina, one of them the Federation. It seems that the representatives of the Bosniak-Muslim nation have the concrete political and other kinds of will to take part in the process of building the Federation unhesitatingly and more intensively.

So, circumstances were such and such were our political relations that for me to have been to Sarajevo would not have served any particular purpose or significance. We have held all our talks outside Sarajevo. The contacts have not been severed, but for me to come to Sarajevo would have had no significance.

[Ivankovic] We know that you have been engaged in very intensive activity over here. You have met with U.S. General Sewell, then with Antonio Pedauye, chief of [the civilian sector of] UNPROFOR [UN Protection Forces] for Bosnia-Herzegovina, and you have had a long conversation with Mr. Izetbegovic, president of

This report may contain copyrighted material. Copying and dissemination is prohibited without permission of the copyright owners.

the Presidency of Bosnia-Herzegovina. Can you tell us something about those three conversations?

[Zubak] The main subject of all three conversations was the Federation. In my conversations with the general, Pedauye, and President Izetbegovic, with whom I talked more than two hours alone, I raised a large number of questions, that is, we talked about problems that are proving to be obstacles to building the Federation. After the talks with Izetbegovic, I had the impression that the Bosniak-Muslim political leadership would not maintain reservations about the project and that the process of building the Federation would intensify, particularly after the recovery, that is, the return of Mr. Ganic. It is very important in all this that the solution to the Bosnian-Herzegovinian drama is very close, that it is highly probable that the crisis will end with a peace agreement under which it is envisaged that the internal organization of Bosnia-Herzegovina will have to be rearranged. It is to be rearranged as we had envisaged even before the war. Namely, we had thought that between the two conflicting options, one being that of the Serb political representatives, who advocated the division of Bosnia-Herzegovina and the creation of a Greater Serbia, and the other extreme, which was preferred by the representatives of the Bosniak-Muslim nation in Bosnia-Herzegovina, of Bosnia-Herzegovina being a unitary state of a civic type, we preferred a compromise solution that keeps Bosnia-Herzegovina within its borders, provides for its integrity, and changes its internal organization both in the sense of an administrative-territorial division and in the sense of political and judicial arrangements. So, we have opted for this concept of a federal-confederal establishment of Bosnia-Herzegovina and now you can see that in practice it seems that this is to be the ultimate solution for Bosnia-Herzegovina. This does not mean, and I have repeated this on many occasions, that these solutions are optimal, and that we—and when I say "we" I mean the Croats—have advocated exactly just such solutions. There have been even better solutions, and from the international community, too, for Bosnia-Herzegovina. Personally, I think that the best solution was the Vance-Owen Plan, but it did not come about. It is important for us now to reach peace and I believe that in peace political processes will develop so that Bosnia-Herzegovina survives within its internationally recognized borders, that the situation and relations between the nations will normalize, that the structure of the authorities will prevent outvoting or the dominant position of one or two of the nations, and that conditions of equality will be provided. That is very important for the Federation project to go further. This is because all of us, and this should be said openly, have been under some kind of brake, that is, we were backing the project, but we were always holding onto the handbrake, because we did not know what the final solution for Bosnia-Herzegovina would be. Since a solution is now probable and one of the entities is the Federation, there are no reasons now for any of us to calculate anything. We have both understood this and I myself now regard the possibility of building the Federation with more optimism.

The Real Situation on the Ground

[Ivankovic] Meanwhile, in military operations the Federation has won some territories that earlier, according to the agreements, were not supposed to fall to it. The question is how to establish authority over there now. Either there will be two entities in the Federation or there will remain a cantonal organization, now with some hitherto nonexistent cantons.

[Zubak] You see, first of all I would like to say that the basis for this U.S. initiative was also the Contact Group plan. Right from the outset, Mr. Holbrooke said that, regarding the territorial demarcation, the 51:49 territorial division ratio will remain. And regarding the new areas, it has been said that the actual situation on the ground was to be respected. Meanwhile, as you say, there have been some major changes on the ground, with large areas being liberated by the Bosnia-Herzegovina Army, the HVO [Croatian Defense Council], and the Croatian Army, which had not been expected to go to the Federation under the Contact Group plan, and now forming part of the Federation. This will greatly affect the final maps and, if respected, our agreements over the administrative and territorial organization of the Federation will also have to be redefined. It is known that we made an agreement in Vienna, which was verified by the Constituent Assembly, that Federation territory is to be divided into eight cantons, but the recently liberated territories were not included in that territory. If these areas remain within the Federation, it will be necessary to change the Vienna treaty and simultaneously raise questions about whether we will attach these recently liberated areas to already existing cantons, constitute new cantons, or find some new solution to the internal territorial and administrative organization of the Federation.

Relative Demarcations

[Ivankovic] Does that mean that, if the real situation on the ground is accepted, the Federation, that is the Bosnia-Herzegovina Croats, will lose Posavina?

[Zubak] In saying that the situation on the ground would be respected, I did not mean it to be taken in the absolute sense, that it would be the basic criterion, but that it would only be taken into account. And I think

This report may contain copyrighted material. Copying and dissemination is prohibited without permission of the copyright owners.

that, among other things, it is now absolutely certain that it is rather unlikely that the Srebrenica and Zepa areas could join the territory of the Federation. On the other hand, it is quite certain that part of the recently liberated areas will join the territory of the Federation. Regarding Posavina, our common stand is that the Contact Group proposal must be respected. Neither the Croats nor the Bosniaks can change their position on what the Constituent Assembly has already verified. We are bound by that. Having accepted the Contact Group plan on the maps, the Constituent Assembly accepted a solution in which Posavina together with its corridor is part of the Federation. It is the common position of both the Posavina Croats and the Croats from Bosnia-Herzegovina and, as far as I know, the representatives of the Muslim-Bosniak nation, too, that this area will be part of the Federation. We shall see whether or not there will be certain corrections. We can talk about this. When we accepted the Contact Group plan together with the map, as I have mentioned, it was said that the maps could be adjusted in some areas through direct negotiations. So, according to that, it is now possible that there will be some adjustments in the map over Posavina, too.

[Ivankovic] Since Doboj and Posavina should be a part of the Federation, and regarding the territory presently under the control of the Croats and the Bosniaks, could it come about that the ratio 51:49 changes, as is increasingly frequently being said, to something like 60:40 or even more unfavorable for the Serbs?

[Zubak] It is very hard to talk about the final solutions, because, you see, the situation can change within a day and everything that I am saying is on the basis of the current situation of relations and circumstances. It would be politically unwise to talk about definite solutions now, but I would say that the ratio 51:49 can be taken relatively. So, there will be no kilometer on kilometer overlapping. [sentence as published] It is possible, therefore, that it would finally be 55:45 or some other percentage, but it is the basis around which everything will turn. And in the end, there is still the question of Sarajevo, because the Contact Group plan has defined it incompletely, although we insist that it comes under the Federation and remains a whole. It should be part of the Federation and I think, according to the latest statements of top officials within the international community, it follows that support for that will be given. We Croats agree to change the present municipal organization of the city of Sarajevo and we will advocate the idea of establishing a new municipality in the Stup area.

One Government

[Ivankovic] After talking on several occasions with Bicakcic [acting vice president of Bosnia-Herzegovina and deputy chairman of the Party for Democratic Action], the Sarajevo media have recently announced that the Federation will start life on New Year's Day. There have been different commentaries on that here: Some people rejoiced because there would be no Herzeg-Bosnia [Croat entity in Bosnia-Herzegovina] from 1 January, others regarded it with suspicion and scorn, with everything reminding them of a statement by Cengic, the former deputy prime minister of the Bosnia-Herzegovina Government, who said not so long ago that the rule of law would start on Monday...What is this all about?

[Zubak] I held talks with Mr. Bicakcic, after which the media published something to the effect that from 1 January Herzeg-Bosnia would cease to exist and the Federation would start to function. That was not a conclusion from our meeting and Mr. Bicakcic has personally informed me that he was misinterpreted and has issued a denial published in SLOBODNA DALMACIJA. Before the session of the Constituent Assembly in Novi Travnik, I was advocating the idea of going into the organization of the Federation Government, separating the Republican Government from the Federation Government, or constituting one government throughout Bosnia-Herzegovina, so that there is neither a Republican Government nor a government of Herzeg-Bosnia. I proposed that in Novi Travnik and also later, during the talks that we had with the Croatian leadership in Split. One of the points on the agenda of the Split document was also the intention to integrate the functions of the Republic and the Federation. The main stumbling block in building the Federation is the dualism of the Republic and Federation and the constant attempts to impose republican institutions on the Federation institutions, which is contrary to the Washington Treaty and we oppose it.

We have advocated the constitution of one government, the Federation Government, and we talked for seven hours about this in Jablanica. And then we said that, if we did not start at once, we would need at least five or six months to agree upon the prime minister designate, the organization of the government and the ministries, to give more authorities to the prime minister designate, the prime minister designate to prepare the program of the government, to make the Federation Government's budget, and when the government starts, and that it starts with its full capacity. Had our initiative been accepted then, we could have been looking at 1 January next year. Meanwhile, a lot of time has passed and we still do not have a definite position from the

This report may contain copyrighted material. Copying and dissemination is prohibited without permission of the copyright owners.

Muslim leadership on whether or not they accept this concept at all so as to raise all the questions mentioned. So, time has passed and there will be nothing of the Federation in that sense, and in its full capacity, on New Year's Day. If that variant happened, the possibility of the Croatian republic of Herzeg-Bosnia having a government would be removed. Only some institutions would remain and they also only until the Federation constitution came into full force. That was the essence of the agreement over which Mr. Bicakcic said that he had been misinterpreted.

Commentary Criticizes Holbrooke, U.S. Plan

AU0610123195 Sarajevo LJILJAN in Serbo-Croatian 4 Oct 95 p 2

[Commentary by Nedzad Latic: "Myths and Complexes of U.S. and Bosnian Policy"]

[FBIS Translated Text] I do not think anyone has heard Mr. Christopher speak about the state sovereignty and integrity of Bosnia since 4 July last year. On the occasion of the ceremonial celebration of the day of the statehood of the United States in Sarajevo, the U.S. ambassador at the time, Mr. Victor Jackovich, expressed his explicit support to Bosnia and its government with Izetbegovic at its head (that is how he named Izetbegovic). Later, in the fall, Carter came to Pale, and Jackovich was withdrawn from Sarajevo. In the U.S. Embassy, only John Menzies remained, who does not have the title of an ambassador, but that of secretary, who "receives and sends faxes." The was the level to which the statehood of Bosnia was reduced in the eyes of the U.S. administration.

Jackovich's gesture of refusing to go to Pale—scandalous from the diplomatic point of view, and perfect from the human point of view—by which he avoided giving legitimacy to the "Serb Republic," resulted in the "punishment" of being given the post in Slovenia. A diplomat who wishes to build his career has no chance of doing so in Slovenia. Because, apart from for some small activity because of their dispute with Italy, Slovenia is, in political terms, an old people's home. Thus, Jackovich is, for Bosnia, a symbol of the political decline in importance in the eyes of the U.S. Administration, but also the person whose departure announced Holbrooke's arrival. Holbrooke's arrival was announced by the removal of witnesses. I use the term "witnesses" intentionally, in order to reach the thesis according to which Holbrooke removed from the State Department all those who had dealt with Bosnia for longer than six months and had more information about the chronology of the war in Bosnia. He established a team that, more or less, knows nothing about Bosnia. He is rigorous in the selection of his assistants, as well as in their removal if they do not share his view of the approach to the problem. Jackovich was not removed from politics totally because, after the experience with Kenny, who resigned from Congress because of Bosnia, they do not want anybody who would make statements and write testimonies from Bosnia. Many believe that Clinton, Christopher, Lake, and Holbrooke stand behind this concept, according to which the United States needs a political success and needs it fast because of the domestic political scene. Not because Bosnia has a strategically significant position, but in order to deprive the opponents of the argument that Clinton has not managed to solve the crisis in Bosnia during his mandate. In military terminology, the operative goal on the internal political scene is to "demilitarize the enemy," meaning to disarm the Republicans, who, in the last year, have managed to multiply their political capital by a clever approach to the problem of Bosnia-Herzegovina. On the international political plan, it is important for the United States to maintain its superpower status. So the bombs did not fall on Mladic's bunkers and huge arms depots in defense of the attacked Bosnia, but much more because of the impression created in the eyes of the U.S. public, which will go to elections in November next year.

For Bosnia, what counts is the naked result of the NATO strikes, not the impression. Whereas, for Holbrooke, it is very important to create the impression that the United States has formally given over the whole of Bosnia to Izetbegovic (essentially, of course not) and thus wash off its hands of the responsibility for having divided an internationally recognized state; the division will be something that the Bosnian authorities will do.

Involving Milosevic in the negotiations is a successful move when it implies that he will no longer be able to lie that he has nothing to do with the war in Bosnia, but, on the other hand, that infringes considerably upon the sovereignty of Bosnia, one part of which is thus represented by the president of another state. This mistake is a rerun of events in the west, when Tudjman was accepted as Boban's mentor. So it is now obvious that the United States has also accepted the ustasha and chetnik concept of Bosnia, as the Bosniak people emotionally name the hegemonistic policies of their neighbors.

Had they wanted something else, the Americans would have fought the Serbs radically, or at least they would have lifted the embargo on the Bosnia-Herzegovina Army.

The financial assistance (Marshall plan) is nothing but a method of political pressure, or, as Marshal

This report may contain copyrighted material. Copying and dissemination is prohibited without permission of the copyright owners.

Freeman [not further specified] would say, "don't fall for it, they'll have to give you the money anyway." U.S. troops (25,000) will not come to Bosnia until the U.S. Administration is sure that there is absolute peace, and something like that is still very far off. Even if they do come within the next 10 years, they will be distributed on the border between the "entities" in Bosnia-Herzegovina. Instead of protecting the borders, they will be a wall against which the wave of the expansion of Bosnian sovereignty will break; contradictory as it may seem, they will turn into the protectors of the 30-something percent of Serbs. That contradiction is inevitable because, for Bosnia, there is only one solution, and that is a duel with Belgrade, which is something the Americans have no intention of doing for the time being. They are aware of their policy of double standards towards former Yugoslavia, and they know very well that Milosevic started the war, or otherwise they would not have included him in the negotiations as an authorized representative of the Serbs; they would even be prepared to nominate him for the Nobel peace prize, if peace is established. In that case, Holbrooke is also a candidate for the Nobel peace prize. Judging by all we have seen by now, instead of the European policy of not doing anything, the European "humanitarian antipolicy" (Owen's doctrine), the U.S. political doctrine is based on the method of blackmail: the Croats are being blackmailed with eastern Slavonia, the Serbs with sanctions, and the Bosniaks—with Sarajevo. In order to satisfy all, Croatia is promised sovereignty over the whole of its territory, Bosnia-Herzegovina its internationally recognized borders, and Serbia a guarantee that the Serbs will not be sanctioned for their crimes; moreover, they will be equal in the presidency and in the parliament.

And that is the cover under which they wish to leave the whole state to Izetbegovic. On one hand, that is possible because of the mythical relationship of Sarajevo with Washington, and, on the other hand, because of the inherited U.S.-Islamic political relationships. The Bosniaks have four distinguished American students (Ganic, Silajdzic, Sacirbegovic, and Ceric). The Americans had one president (Carter) who went to Pale because of the defeat in Iran. Just like Fikret Abdic wishes to take Bosnia to Europe, but via Zagreb, not via Tehran. Not to mention the visions of Mr. Tudjman, who sees himself as authorized to save Bosnia from fundamentalism.

If "Europeanization Balkanized the Balkans, including Bosnia" (Owen via Belgrade), then Americanization (according to Holbrooke's concept) will send it to hell. And via Zagreb.

Commentary Questions Results of U.S. Initiative

AU0710164995 Sarajevo OSLOBODJENJE (Bosnian) in Serbo-Croatian 2 Oct 95 p 1

[Commentary by Hamza Baksic: "Initiative Running Out of Steam"]

[FBIS Translated Text] Richard Holbrooke had good reason to throw a bucket of cold water into the face of the domestic public when it estimated that peace might be in sight. The real results of the U.S. initiative, despite all of its qualities, are less than were presented to the world public, perhaps even less than what the pessimists had expected.

By embarking on a political offensive, and then by launching air strikes as the answer to one of the most spectacular examples of fascist terror, the West had gained the initiative and things appeared as if they were moving from standstill, moving away from the war. The political capital had not been secured and the initiative has started to run out of steam.

What has been achieved?

The end of shelling of Sarajevo, but not the announced end of its siege, and direct political contacts with their results being bound by declaratory conclusions: After these contacts all participants came up with their own interpretations as if they had attended different meetings.

What has not been achieved?

What has not been achieved is a concept of a peace solution. Hostilities have not stopped, but intensified, which is a consequence of the fact that since April 1992 political solutions have been realized by analyzing the situations on the battlefields. Aspirations toward Bosnian soil have not diminished, but have been transformed into more insidious forms. For instance, one no longer says occupation, but confederation. All issues that are not in the process of being solved militarily are contentious.

Nevertheless, what has been achieved?

One achievement is that the West, the United States and others, has realized the dimensions of the war, the consequences of their own hesitation and waiting for the Bosnian problem to solve "itself." What has been achieved is that, after the considerable military-political idleness, the notorious compromises with the aggressor appear like a triumph. What has also been achieved is that Russia, not knowing what to do with itself, cure its frustrations in the Balkans in the well known manner, with one minister—of foreign affairs—saying that the unity of Bosnia-Herzegovina represents

This report may contain copyrighted material. Copying and dissemination is prohibited without permission of the copyright owners.

the vital interest of his country, and another minister—of defense—sending one of his leading generals to Belgrade and Pale to instigate the hawks. What has also been achieved is that with compromises in Bosnia and about Bosnia, the West is trying to do the impossible, stop Zhirinovskiy or someone like him on their way to the Russian throne. The entire history of Russia does not contain even five minutes of the democracy of the French, British, or U.S. type and intensity.

The initiative therefore needs a new dose of doping. The request to Belgrade to hand over Karadzic and Mladic has put the real precursor to one of the possible ways of undoing the knot. Milosevic makes concessions only when he find himself in an impasse, and if he can appear as if he is not making concessions. He recovered very quickly from the last blow in Croatia, thanks mainly to the events in Krajina toward the end and after the "Storm." The U.S. initiative will have chances of succeeding if it shows that its aim is not to topple Serbia, which it has more or less already shown, but Milosevic, which it has not shown.

Croats Welcome Monitoring of Cease-Fire

LD0910184295 Mostar Croatian Radio Herzeg-Bosnia in Serbo-Croatian 1700 GMT 9 Oct 95

[Interview with Vladimir Soljic, minister of defense of the Croat Republic of Herzeg-Bosnia, by correspondent Ivan Kristic; place and date not given—recorded]

[FBIS Translated Text] [Kristic] Mr. Soljic, at midnight tomorrow the cease-fire in Bosnia-Herzegovina is expected to take effect. What will units of the Croatian Defense Council [HVO] do?

[Soljic] The Croatian side in general and the HVO in particular, will honor the signed cease-fire. If the truce, the cease-fire really materializes we are willing to welcome, within one day of its taking effect, all relevant international institutions so they can monitor it.

[Kristic] Do you have any reports as to whether the other two sides are ready for a cease-fire, or whether they believe they can secure better positions for further negotiations and this peace process by continuing their fighting?

[Soljic] It is known that precisely in the latest period the other two sides, Serbs and Muslims, have been waging extremely fierce battles. We have a number of reports about their future conduct. Perhaps the best thing to do is to wait, two days is not a long time, so let the facts speak.

[Kristic] Does that mean that we can hope for peace, or else will we continue being prepared for defense?

[Soljic] It is human to hope. Peace will be the best outcome. However, Everything is possible in this area. At the moment there is no respite for the HVO. The HVO units have to be prepared for any eventuality. If a peace is established, if it is consolidated and guaranteed, then it will be a clear situation.

UN Shutting Down as Peace Plan Takes Over

AU0810140795 Paris AFP in English 0105 GMT 8 Oct 95

[By Diane Bartz]

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Zagreb, Oct 8 (AFP)—The United Nations is moving quickly toward shuttering its operation in the former Yugoslavia, with the United States nervous about the organization's ability to enforce a critical ceasefire in Bosnia.

The UN force is not slated to entirely disappear entirely when the North Atlantic Treaty Organisation arrives in the former Yugoslavia to enforce a possible peace pact, but it is in the process of sharply reducing its staffing.

The success of the NATO mission is critical to President Bill Clinton's administration since the estimated 25,000 US troops in the NATO force of 50,000 to 80,000 must be home by the time of the presidential election in November 1996 with their mission accomplished.

Anything less would leave the Clinton team vulnerable to charges that it is incapable of handling foreign policy, their political Achilles' heel.

While the United Nations is essentially a lame duck here—with all the accompanying morale problems—its role is key to the success of the ceasefire agreed to on Thursday between the Bosnian goverment and rebel Serbs.

Guns are slated to fall silent on October 10, if gas and electricity supplies are turned onto the Bosnian capital, something that UN technical support is critical for supplying.

UN teams spent the weekend racing to meet that deadline, but seem unlikely to do so because of mines around a power plant near Sarajevo and other technical problems.

Past UN failures have concerned the United States, with US envoy Richard Holbrooke, who brokered the ceasefire, making a special point on Thursday to say that for the United Nations "business as usual will not be enough."

"The United Nations has got to implement this (ceasefire). We are always disturbed of the lack of full imple-

This report may contain copyrighted material. Copying and dissemination is prohibited without permission of the copyright owners.

mentation which then becomes an excuse for each side to charge bad faith," he added.

"They have to do better than they've done. I'm sure we're going to be watching it very carefully," a US official told AFP the following day.

But already more than half of the peacekeepers in Croatia have been sent home following offensives in May and August. Peacekeepers are also being sent home from Bosnia, some because they are no longer necessary and others because the area that had been under their protection—Gorazde—is indefensible.

"We've been told that we'll be out of jobs by the end of January," said a UN official, adding that a senior UN official who had closed out other programs was due soon in Zagreb. "That's his job, to shut down missions."

Despite the 200,000 deaths in Bosnia, the United Nations has been more successful in the former Yugoslavia than in previous missions. In Cambodia and Somalia, UN troops alleviated what had been desperate situations but both countries slipped into despair again once the UN pulled out.

But UN officials are defensive about the organization's failure to do more than deliver food aid and carry out anti-sniping patrols in Bosnia, important jobs to be sure but nowhere near their entire mandate.

"There is certainly a commitment on the part of the UN to take steps to help this ceasefire work and I think you're aware of the practical steps we're taking," said UN spokesman Christopher Gunness, when asked about the US concern. "We mean that and that we will."

Gunness argued that overseeing elections planned for Bosnia could be an area where the United Nations was better equipped to provide expertise than NATO.

"I think that as the implications of this deal sink in, although you may rightly regard the UN as a lame duck, there are tasks that I think that we could legitimately and effectively fulfill," he added.

"When is the last time that NATO held an election? It is clear that there is going to have to be some demining. The UN has shown itself in Cambodia and Afganistan and areas of Africa perfectly capable of demining."

UN troops may also provide critical intelligence to NATO to be used in arranging deployments and logistics, a senior UN military official said privately.

"We (the UN and NATO) are doing a lot of planning," the official said.

UN Hopeful of Cease-Fire, Natural Gas Restored

AU1010140595 Paris AFP in English
1257 GMT 10 Oct 95

[Report by Adrian Brown]

[FBIS Transcribed Excerpt] Sarajevo, Oct 10 (AFP)—Hopes rose for the start of a nationwide ceasefire Tuesday [10 October] after Russia resumed gas supplies to Sarajevo, removing a key obstacle to Bosnian Government acceptance of the truce which had been due to come into effect the previous night. [passage omitted]

But UN officials here said the Russian gas had already begun arriving in the city and that supplies could begin flowing to residents as early as Tuesday afteroon.

"We understand that gas has come to the city," said William Eagleton, the UN special coordinator for Sarajevo.

Eagleton said that under normal circumstances, several days of testing would be needed to check for breakages in the system. "The idea is to do it today and maybe by this afternoon if there are no breaks in the line the gas could come into the system.

"I hope that the local citizens have been warned of that possibility," he said.

UN military spokesman, Chris Vernon, said they would make an assessment "just after lunchtime and a meeting this afternoon to hopefully get agreement from the Bosnian Government that the preconditions have been met and the ceasefire will be agreed by both parties."

The Bosnian Government said failure to have the gas restored to Sarajevo was the reason for postponing the start of a 60-day ceasefire for Bosnia due have come into effect at midnight Monday.

Electricity supplies to the city, the other pre-condition for the government acceptance of the truce, have already been restored.

Difficulties with "internal distribution," though, meant not everyone had power in their homes, a UN official said. [passage omitted]

If agreement is reached Tuesday evening, Vernon said UN peacekeepers wanted to see implementation of other parts of the agreement "immediately." [passage omitted]

Vernon said the United Nations would "be extremely disappointed if the Bosnian Government were now going to throw in other preconditions when we are close to an agreement." [passage omitted]

UN officials said work on clearing the main highway out of Sarajevo was continuing but would not be complete for some days.

This report may contain copyrighted material. Copying and dissemination is prohibited without permission of the copyright owners.

In the meantime the only road in and out of the city crosses the Bosnian Serb checkpoint. [passage omitted]

Vernon said the Bosnian army had also launched a "major offensive to take Mount Vis" a height in the northeast of Bosnia which Bosnian Serb forces had used to attack Moslem civilian areas and UN bases, causing the death of a peacekeeper on Monday. [passage omitted]

UN Official Comments on Cease-Fire Talks

AU0910213395 Paris AFP in English 2112 GMT 9 Oct 95

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Sarajevo, Oct 9 (AFP)—The preconditions for the start of a planned countrywide cease-fire in Bosnia-Herzegovina have not yet been met, a senior UN official said here Monday.

Antonio Pedauye, head of the UN mission in Bosnia, made the statement shortly after Bosnian officials said they were postponing the ceasefire because energy and water supplies to the capital Sarajevo had not yet been reconnected as required in the cease-fire plan.

Echoing that view, Pedauye said: "It is very clear to the Bosnian government that the necessary pre-conditions have not been met."

Restoration of the two utilities to Sarajevo was a pre-condition for the commencement of a U.S.-brokered 60-day truce for the whole of Bosnia, due to have begun at one minute past midnight (2301 GMT) Monday [9 October].

"UNPROFOR (UN Protection Force) will continue to monitor and facilitate the restoration of utilities. We urge the parties to observe maximum restraint at this critical stage," Pedauye added.

The countdown to the truce Monday was overshadowed by NATO attacks on Bosnian Serbs responsible for a second day of shelling of UN bases in the northeast of the counry where a 29-year-old Norwegian peacekeepers died.

A total of 13 people were killed in a series of artillery and rocket attacks on the area Sunday, according to UN figures. NATO airstrikes called on Sunday were aborted because of bad weather but were carried out successfully Monday.

The UN envoy spoke meeting Bosnian Government Minister Hasan Muratovic and a representative of the Bosnian Serb leadership, Aleksa Buha, at Sarajevo's airport.

"Both parties did their utmost to comply with the restoration of electricity. They have cooperated fully with UNPROFOR to facilitate the cease-fire agreement," Pedauye said.

Muratovic said before the airport meeting that "once all conditions are complied with, we are willing to meet again and to agree on giving the order to the armies to stop all their activities."

Stoltenberg Voices Optimism For Peace Agreement

MS0610111295 London ITV Television Network in English 1800 GMT 6 Oct 95

[Interview with Thorvald Stoltenberg, UN Special Envoy to former Yugoslavia, by presenter Zeinab Badawi; 6 Oct, place not given; from the "Channel Four" newscast—recorded]

[FBIS Transcribed Text] [Badawi] What is different about this latest attempt at peace?

[Stoltenberg] In the sense that it's made first and foremost by the Americans, and that is important. I have since October '93 I have felt a need for the Americans to come into the center of negotiations, and they do now and I think that shall not be underestimated.

[Badawi] But if you, the UN negotiator, wanted the Americans brought in much earlier, why didn't that happen?

[Stoltenberg] That you must ask the Americans. Lord Owen and I felt strongly from the fall '93 that both EU and the United States should be much closer to the negotiating table and that has now happened and I think that produces results. I mean the political, economic and military power of the United States is obviously of tremendous importance for a cease-fire agreement like the one we hopefully will see in five days time. I also put importance in the fact that this is announced by President Clinton. No doubt that in itself put pressure on the parties to live up to this cease-fire agreement.

[Badawi] Well you sound somewhat optimistic. Do you think in the words of Mr Clinton that this will lead to an enduring peace for Bosnia?

[Stoltenberg] I will be very careful. I have been so many times disappointed. We have, read them, made peace agreements agreed by all parties, and it has failed. So I take this as good news, an important step, making it a better framework for negotiations, but I don't believe in peace until I see it. I've no reason to believe in that until we see it on the ground.

[Badawi] All right, we of course as you say the road to peace is a long and hard one. What in your view are the potential stumbling blocks?

This report may contain copyrighted material. Copying and dissemination is prohibited without permission of the copyright owners.

[Stoltenberg] Well there are so many and I don't see it as my job to find the stumbling blocks. My job is to find the possibilities and I have concentrated on those for two and a half years now.

[Badawi] Two of the key signatories to this cease-fire deal, Mr Stoltenberg, are the Bosnian Serb leaders General Mladic and Radovan Karadzic, and yet they have been indicted on war crimes by the UN War Crimes Tribunal, now do they have to be granted immunity?

[Stoltenberg] You cannot make peace without accepting the reality, and the reality as of today is that Dr Karadzic is in charge in Pale with General Mladic, and if you don't want to talk with them you will not have peace as of today. During these two and a half years we have negotiated continuously almost, this issue has not been raised at all by none of the parties.

[Badawi] Mr Stoltenberg you've been working to try and get peace for two and a half years, do you at all feel that you have been marginalized by the United States, for instance did Mr Holbrook consult you at all?

[Stoltenberg] The fact that there are competition to achieve peace is a good thing and I must say to me it's of no importance whatsoever who is the last one on the document. The important thing is to get peace.

Mostar Situation Most Difficult in Federation

LD0810170495 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1633 GMT 8 Oct 95

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Belgrade, Oct. 8 (TANJUG)—Chief of Staff of the European Administration of Mostar Martin Garotte said Sunday that the situation in this town in southern Bosnia-Herzegovina was the most difficult in the Muslim-Croat Federation when freedom of movement and return of refugees were concerned.

In a statement to Muslim Radio Sarajevo, Garotte accused the Croatian side of failing to show any interest in resolving controversial issues and of obstructing and rejecting all agreements so far on setting up a joint police, freedom of movement and return of refugees to Mostar.

Before they signed an agreement on the forming of a joint federation under pressure of Washington in March 1994, Bosnian Muslims and Croats fought each other for a year and their heaviest conflicts were around the city of Mostar itself.

Before they began fighting each other, Muslims and Croats completed ethnic cleansing operations against Serbs in the territory of Mostar, expelling about 40,000 of them from the area.

After the Washington Agreement on a binational federation was signed, Mostar was divided into east Muslim Mostar and west Croat Mostar and placed under European administration.

Since the very outbreak of the civil war in Bosnia-Herzegovina in April 1992, the Croat side has openly shown its aspirations to have Mostar as the seat of its Republic of Herzeg-Bosnia, the Bosnian Croat state.

Silajdzic, Italy Differ on Balkan Aid Recipients

AU0810162695 Ljubljana Radio Slovenia Network in Slovene 1430 GMT 8 Oct 95

[FBIS Translated Text] After the meeting of the Central European Initiative [CEI] yesterday, a sharp verbal and political duel between Bosnia-Herzegovina and Italy took place. The reason for it was the question of to whom should the international community allocate aid for postwar reconstruction. The fact that the Italian Foreign Ministry issued a special statement on the matter confirms that this is not merely a petty squabble between Sarajevo and Rome. Jure Pengov reports from Rome:

[Begin recording] It all stared when Bosnia-Herzegovina Prime Minister Haris Silajdzic at a news conference in Warsaw yesterday said literally: In the latest mass grave dug by the Serbs that we discovered we found 5,000 bodies. We cannot stop those who want to help Serbia in their pursuit; however, to throw the victim and the attacker in the same basket is simply unjust.

With this, Silajdzic naturally criticized the idea that all of the Balkans, including Serbia, would receive postwar reconstruction aid. The idea originates from EU mediator Bildt and is wholeheartedly supported by Italy, which tried to push it through at the meeting of the so-called consultations commission in Rome on 5 October. For that reason Rome immediately perceived Silajdzic's criticism as being directed at it.

First, Foreign Ministry Under Secretary Emanuelle Scamaca, who headed the Italian delegation to the CEI summit in Warsaw reacted by saying we should not be biased when it comes to reconstruction of an important part of Europe. He repeated Rome's stance that everybody should be treated equally. Silajdzic did not remain silent and raised his tone as well. So, the lesson is kill your neighbor and you shall receive aid. Throwing all the sides into one basket means legalization of Serbian crimes, Silajdzic added.

The Italian Foreign Ministry tried to calm the situation with a special statement in which it cited the principle allegedly adopted unanimously at the Rome meeting

This report may contain copyrighted material. Copying and dissemination is prohibited without permission of the copyright owners.

two days before that all the Balkans would receive reconstruction aid. The ministry explains that the quality and the quantity of aid will differ and that those directly affected by the war, first among them Bosnia-Herzegovina, would receive the most aid.

The statement also emphasizes that the aid is not connected to political judgments about the responsibility for this war, but is a contribution toward creating prosperity in this region and its speediest possible integration with Europe, where it belongs, objectively speaking. [end recording]

Military Developments, Prospects for Peace Viewed

AU0910110095 Zagreb VELEBIT in Serbo-Croatian 6 Oct 95 pp 18-19

[Article by Goran Redzepovic: "What Can Be Done in Bosnia?"]

[FBIS Translated Text] The problem with all the peace plans is that the Serbs have always more or less been ready to negotiate endlessly, both in Croatia and Bosnia-Herzegovina, but they have never been ready to make concrete concessions. On the other hand, the government in Sarajevo has reduced its readiness to accept the imposed peace solutions in inverse proportion to the strengthening of its military force. Unlike all the peace plans for Bosnia so far, the last U.S. plan, apart from a direct NATO air force threat for a final solution, also includes the solution to the issue of the peaceful reintegration of the occupied regions of Baranja, eastern Slavonia, and western Srijem, primarily as a result of the military successes of the Croatian Army and establishing Croatia as an inevitable partner capable of solving by military means not only the internal problems of the occupied areas, but also decisively influencing the total balance of military forces in the territories of the former Yugoslavia.

Unprepared for Just Solution

Although Serbia, in the name of the Serbs outside Serbia, has accepted the negotiations, the latest development on the ground clearly shows that they are not ready to sincerely accept a just solution to the conflict, that is, for the time being they are still not ready to voluntarily cancel the most important results of the Greater Serbian conquest. Except that, recently, the attempts to involve Russia as a military partner into the Bosnian crisis have noticeably intensified.

The appearance of Zeljko Raznjatovic Arkan with his volunteers in the battlefields of Bosnia-Herzegovina, as well as the visit of Deputy Chief of Staff of the Russian Federation, Colonel-General Vladimir Mihajlovic Zurbenko, to the Staff of Ratko Mladic, war criminal, clearly show that neither Slobodan Milosevic, nor his strongest foreign policy ally Boris Yeltsin, at least at the present balance of power, are ready to allow a total Serbian defeat in the territories of the neighboring republic.

As much as Serbian propaganda tries to present the international criminal and war criminal Arkan as the leader of some self-organized volunteers, the five-year long itinerary of the Belgrade "pastry cook" clearly shows his movements as coinciding with the areas of significance at that moment as expressed by the strictly controlled aggression from Belgrade.

Even the most gullible person would not believe that Arkan and some 300 of his volunteers, armed to the teeth, spontaneously crossed the river Drina, came out of a strictly controlled police state like Serbia today, and started fighting at Sanski Most.

On the other hand, the visit and the official talks of a high Russian military delegation, with a partner who has booked his seat before the International War Crimes Tribunal in the Hague, held recently in Bijeljina, with the statement of Colonel-General Momcilo Perisic, chief of staff of the army of the so-called "Federal Republic of Yugoslavia," that he will ask Russia to send them contemporary antiaircraft systems, shows that the Russian government has been trying to send a clear message by threatening its possible involvement through various forms of military help.

Nevertheless, just as Arkan's "volunteers" cannot stop the collapse of Greater Serbia, nor can the Russians and their shipments of weaponry reverse the strategic initiative in favor of the Serbs.

By military operations Flash, Summer 95, Storm, Mistral, as well as by the offensive operations of joint Croatian forces and the Army of Bosnia-Herzegovina, the largest part of the compact territory around Banja Luka that is still under the control of the Serbs to the west of the river Drina, has been reduced to a territory of 130 by 80 kilometers, the distance between Bosanski Novi and Doboj, that is, from Bosanska Gradiska to Mrkonjic Grad; it has been reduced to an area in which any target can be reached either from its northern or southern borders by Orkan multiple rocket launchers, and the only safe traffic communication that cannot be subject to an artillery attack is the road Prijedor-Banja Luka-Prnjavor.

Under such conditions, the Serbs in Bosnia-Herzegovina have been for the first time brought into a crucial situation of defending themselves, that is, that their further retreat is associated with incalculable consequences, because with the fall of Banja Luka, the largest personnel

This report may contain copyrighted material. Copying and dissemination is prohibited without permission of the copyright owners.

and material resource of Radovan Karadzic's army, every possibility of any further serious military resistance would cease to exist, except directly along the border with Serbia.

Having lost large territories in western Bosnia, it is true that the Serbs have significantly shortened the front line, increased the number of soldiers and artillery guns available per active frontline kilometer, but definitely lost immense operative depth of territory, the area with which they could have bought the time that they lack. Previously, they could afford even possibly deeper breakthroughs of the opponent's side until they regrouped and organized a stronger defense or possible counterattack.

So now, at a significantly reduced depth of the territory, in almost complete semi-encirclement linked only with the thin Posavina corridor, the Serbs in western Bosnia are forced either to put up a defense or to withdraw eastward.

Can Serbs Continue To Wage War?

The forces of the 5th Corps [of the Army of Bosnia-Herzegovina] have advanced the most in the northern part in the zone of responsibility of the previously destroyed Serbian 2d Krajina Corps, having advanced 80 kilometers deep into the territory that had been controlled by the Serb forces, and, it seems, made the same mistake as in the autumn of 1994, when they spread over a wide territory without the mutual firm linking of neighboring units and without the possibility of turning into an organized and integral system of defense over a wide area. So, the recent offensives by Croatian and Bosnia-Herzegovina forces started a mass of allegedly 135,000 Serb civilian refugees (apart from the liberated towns, almost completely evacuated were Bosanski Novi, Prijedor, Sanski Most, and Mrkonjic Grad). The Bosnian Serbs, in order to keep the able-bodied members of the population, instead of directing refugee columns toward Serbia, sent them deep into their territory, and a large number of refugee columns were sent directly toward the lines of conflict, as confirmed by the international humanitarian organizations. In such circumstances, until completely dismembered units are reconstituted, they have engaged their last reserves on the battlefields against Croatian forces and the Army of Bosnia-Herzegovina, including also the civilian and military police. Squeezed into a significantly smaller area, having regrouped the available artillery, and supported by smaller tank groups, the Serbs are organizing counterattacks westward, while toward Croatian forces at Mrkonjic Grad and in the valley of the river Ugar they act defensively.

The other battlefields in Bosnia-Herzegovina are relatively calm. In the region of Mt. Ozren, after the liberation of the village Vozuca and opening of the road between Zenica and Tuzla, and the advancement in the Bosna and Spreca river valleys toward Doboj, the offensive operations of 3d and 2d Corps of the Army of Bosnia-Herzegovina have gradually lost intensity without managing either to get into the heart of the mountain or to cut off Mt. Ozren from Doboj. Mostly artillery duels are taking place on the Posavina corridor, while the attempts of the Army of Bosnia-Herzegovina to break through from the directions of Konjic and Mostar toward eastern Herzegovina are yielding no significant results.

Strengthened by several brigades from the 7th and 2d Corps, the forces under the command of Atif Dudakovic have directed their activities from Kljuc toward Mrkonjic Grad, in order to link up with Croatian forces in Jajce, by which a direct travel communication is to be established between 5th and 7th Corps of the Army of Bosnia-Herzegovina, that is, the shortest communication between western and central Bosnia (so-called AVNOJ [Antifascist Council of National Liberation of Yugoslavia—WW II] Road). As matters now stand, the Serb forces have managed to keep this area, halfway between Kljuc and Mrkonjic Grad, at the village of Cadjavica.

All such operations made in the last two months in the territory of Bosnia-Herzegovina have shown perfectly clearly that without cooperation with the Croatian forces the Army of Bosnia-Herzegovina has not yet been either organized, trained, or equipped to undertake large independent offensive operations, without being subject to Serb counterattacks and large number of casualties. The obvious lack of successful coordination (even reinforced by the forces from the 7th Corps), the weak maneuvering possibility of the forces, due to limited means of transport (they mostly advance on foot), modest communications equipment, as well as still modest logistics, do not represent preconditions for the planning and successful execution of deep, quick breakthroughs into enemy territory. The fact that the 5th Corps had successfully defended itself for three years though completely encircled, is more the consequence of the resoluteness of the fighters and the people of that region to withstand the Greater Serbian invasion, than a guarantee of preparedness to larger offensive liberation operations. When the troops of the Bihac Corps spread over a wide area with large undefended sections, the Serbs started to use the tactics from their days of being surrounded, by infiltrating small groups deep into the controlled area and attacking the units that moved along unsafe and undefended communications.

This report may contain copyrighted material. Copying and dissemination is prohibited without permission of the copyright owners.

Overemphasizing the Serb military losses in equipment could lead to the wrong conclusion about the firepower of Mladic's followers. Although they lost more than 30 tanks and a large number of other heavy weapons in the last operations, the Serbs still have an enviable quantity of firepower. Even before the beginning of the operation in western Bosnia, the Serbs had had more considerable problems with the number of people to operate heavy weaponry than with the resources available. Having withdrawn a certain quantity of equipment from Croatia after Operation Storm, the disproportion in number of heavy weapons and available crews increased, so that they still have even more weaponry than available personnel.

Further Development of Events

In present circumstances it is unrealistic to expect the 5th Corps of the Army of Bosnia-Herzegovina to manage to keep all the lines gained, which would go more or less along the Sana and Japra river valleys, or to succeed in independently breaking through from Kljuc over Mrkonjic Grad to Jajce. One can expect the Serbian counterattack to reach its limit where the 5th Corps defense becomes so solid, not only with infantry, but also with artillery, that further breakthroughs would be utterly irrational and there would be many casualties, as happened toward the end of 1994 when the troops under the direct command of Lieutenant General Manojlo Milovanovic, chief of staff of the army of the Bosnian Serbs, were stopped in the suburbs of Bihac. Although the Serbs have recently achieved minor military successes that in no way means that they are capable of turning the whole military situation to their benefit. Utterly broken and destroyed, after the defeats at Grahovo, Glamoc, Drvar, Mliniste, Vitorog, Demirovac, Sipovo, and Jajce, suffered by Croatian forces, the 2d Krajina Corps exists as a military formation only on paper. For the Serbs this means that the crushing fact of continuing military and political losses with a heightened claustrophobic feeling of being closed into a small area is now already perfectly clear and precludes the theoretical possibility of realizing the idea of the integration of all Serbian lands. In such circumstances, the Serb population in the areas of western Bosnia, even without major military operations, is slowly "pouring" toward Serbia. Only those poor people who have nowhere to go, stay.

For these reasons Arkan's arrival onto the Bosnia-Herzegovina battlefield serves more to boost the morale of the scared people, than as a real military force that will be able to turn the fortunes of war to the benefit of the Serbs. Arkan has appeared in a similar role also in Benkovac, Obrovac, and Knin, and the results of his fighting, apart from the evidence of war crimes, is the suffering of his own people.

Possible shipments of contemporary Russian weapons to the Serbs, also cannot significantly change the fortunes of war. A long period of time is needed to introduce contemporary antiaircraft rocket systems, and even if they were to appear on the battleground, where there is a low level of intensity conflict with exceptionally limited usage of the air force, essentially nothing will change in the present balance of power.

It is clear that the Serbs can be saved from further military losses only by the approaching winter, which in Bosnian surroundings offers extremely poor conditions for offensive operations. Precisely because of that, there is more inclination to establish a winter cease-fire than to reach a lasting peace solution that would quickly bring a final end to the military operations of the warring sides and to the creation of a realistic basis for a lasting and just solution to the conflict in the territory of Bosnia-Herzegovina.

However, in the name of preventing further loss of human lives and damage to material goods, even the smallest chance that promises a political solution to the conflict should be supported, particularly when that political solution may contain, apart from the necessary compromises, numerous elements of a just solution to the crisis. Nevertheless, one should always bear in mind that the Serbs have never ever agreed to make any concrete political, territorial or military concession imposed upon them by political or economic means, particularly not when the point in question has been an essential strategic area like, at the moment, eastern Slavonia, Baranja, and western Srijem in Croatia, and the region along the river Drina in eastern Bosnia.

This report may contain copyrighted material. Copying and dissemination is prohibited without permission of the copyright owners.

Tudjman Addresses HDZ Rally in Vela Luka

LD0910230695 Zagreb HTV Television in Serbo-Croatian 1905 GMT 9 Oct 95

[Passages contained within quotation marks are recorded]

[FBIS Translated Excerpt] The Croatian Democratic Union today held its first election rally today in Vela Luka on the island of Korcula at exactly midday . The choice of the rally site was not accidental, Dr. Franjo Tudjman, the republic's president and HDZ chairman, said, adding that in this way the Croatian state expressed its concern about the islands as the most beautiful part of the homeland and because the island of Korcula, apart from preserving the values of the European and world civilization, had preserved the original Croatian soul. [passage omitted]

We have selected the following highlights from the 20-minute long speech made by Dr. Franjo Tudjman at the HDZ election rally in Vela Luka:

[Tudjman] [applause and chanting Franjo, Franjo] "Croatian woman and men, dear citizens of Vela Luka and the entire Korcula, I greet you on the behalf of the Croatian Democratic Union, the party that presented a program of the establishment of an independent, sovereign, and democratic Croatian state to you and the Croatian nation five years ago. This party has achieved all this together with all of you. It has succeeded in securing for the independent and sovereign Croatian state membership of the community of the nations of the free world. Croatia is no longer history's stepchild.

"Today passenger and military ships are sailing under the Croatian banner. Croatian people are performing and competing under the Croatian banner everywhere in the world. Croatian people are returning to their homes here in Vela Luka, on Korcula, and on other Croatian islands and to other Croatian areas, from where they have been leaving since the last century also because they did not have their own state, because they were persecuted, and because the foreign rulers wanted to see as few as possible Croats here on Korcula and elsewhere else in Croatia." [tumultuous applause]

[Correspondent] The Croatian president particularly spoke about the problem of the islands, emigration, and the return to these parts of Croatia:

[Tudjman] "Croatian islands in the most beautiful, the most fabulous sea in the world [applause] represent particular richness and require the particular care of the Croatian state leadership. There may be among you some people who remember how people emigrated from here, not only individually, but in huge groups. In 1925 a shipload of Croatian people left Korcula. Both those who were leaving and those who were staying were in tears. But there was one who was laughing—a Serb policeman here in Vela Luka, the same as elsewhere in Croatia—those who rejoiced in the fact that Croatian people were emigrating because they were hopeful they would for ever rule over Korcula and the entire Croatia. [applause]

"In the watershed historical period of the collapse of socialist communism in Europe and multiethnic states, the HDZ had the courage and knew that it would find those among the Croatian people living on all Croatian islands and in all Croatian areas who would support the program of creating an independent and democratic Croatian state. We achieved this [applause] despite the fact that the majority of other Croatian parties did not have such a program, that they were afraid of coming up with such an idea of an independent and sovereign Croatian state. But, the people—you—wanted it and we achieved it, despite the fact that both Europe and the entire international community wanted to preserve a greater Serbian and Yugo communist Yugoslavia [applause].

"In the beginning we were not strong enough—because we had no arms—to resist the Yugo-communist army and the Yugo-communist navy, and we could not prevent them from occupying part of Croatia's territory—from Vukovar and Baranja to Dubrovnik. But, relying on our own people, we created the armed force with which, after all Flashes and Storms, we liberated most—not only most but 97.5 percent—of Croatia's sovereign territory. [applause]

"A small part of eastern Slavonia remains, with its symbol of Croatian resistance in Vukovar, with its fertile Baranja and part of western Srejm. Rest assured, we will soon liberate that corner of the Croatian homeland too [applause]—by peaceful means, as the whole world is urging us. After all, we wanted to incorporate all of Croatia in the democratic Croatian system by peaceful means, but the majority of Serbs in Croatia did not want to be loyal citizens of the Croatian state, they mounted resistance and met the fate that they met [frenetic applause].

"We want western Srejm, eastern Slavonia with Vukovar and Baranja to be liberated in a peaceful way, we want to include them in the constitutional and legal order of the democratic Croatia. We guarantee them, these Serbs, their civil and those ethnic rights of theirs as a minority in Croatia. But, of course, they cannot return to those times when Knin ruled over Korcula, Vis, and the entire Croatia. That is a matter of the past.

This report may contain copyrighted material. Copying and dissemination is prohibited without permission of the copyright owners.

"We now guarantee them civil and ethnic rights, and if this is accepted, there will be peace. If they do not accept it, they will see an even worse Storm. [applause]

"I believe that you will know how to appreciate the fact that the HDZ, in its capacity as majority party that was instrumental in everything we have created over these five years and that is the guarantee that it will know, just as it has known so far how to solve all Croatian problems. This union has sent you your deputy, so he can represent you in the Croatian state assembly—Mate Granic, a man who also hails from southern Dalmatia, and his deputy Obuljen from Dubrovnik. This diplomacy of ours was worthy of the Croatian army's might. It has also won the confidence, and not just the confidence, but the respect and appreciation of the whole world."

[Correspondent] Tudjman said the following about the future of the Croatian state.

[Tudjman] "Our Croatian state has strength, has friends in the world, so our future is absolutely safe. My dear Croatian brothers and sisters I have to tell you, not for party reasons but for Croatian state reasons, that had we not had such a party as the HDZ that you presented with your trust, which won the trust of the Croatian people both in the homeland and abroad, we would not have a free, independent, and democratic Croatian state. This is why we need such a party that will have a majority in the Croatian State Assembly, which therefore, enabled me to make those decisions that helped us overcome everything we have overcome. We have wrestled ourselves out of the aggression, preserved the state, and we created it as a strong country in the international order, too. This is why we need the HDZ victory in these elections, too. Long live our only and eternal Croatia." [passage omitted]

[Tudjman] [tumultuous applause and chanting Franjo, Franjo] "Croatian women and men, dear citizens of Dubrovnik, and the citizens of the entire Dubrovnik-Neretva county, dear Croatian youth and members of the Croatian Armed Forces, the Croatian Army, and Croatian Navy.

"On behalf of my aides, on behalf of the HDZ, which has united the entire Croatian nation and all Croatian lands and the Croats at home and abroad, I thank you for this cordial welcome and this magnificent gathering. On behalf of the party that has won freedom and the Croatian state, you have proven with this greeting, with this expression of agreement, with the forces with which you have defended, liberated, and established Croatia that you are true sons of ancient citizens of Dubrovnik, who knew how to preserve Dubrovnik and the republic of Dubrovnik and thus Croatia's spirit through centuries and despite everyone—as your compatriot Niko Buljic put it—who wanted not just to take Dubrovnik, but also to alienate it from its nation, to turn it into a Serb city, and, like foreign conquerors from Turks to Venetians, to conquer and destroy [as heard].

"But this evening you speak with the spirit of Dubrovnik, which had the strength and wisdom to survive in the hostile world through wise diplomacy and determination, and which has also nurtured the Croatian language and spirit and that gave to the Croatian nation and the Croatian man verses that sustained him and led him to liberty. I thank you for all this and for the verses: Oh, beautiful, Oh dear, Oh sweet liberty. [applause]

"Everything we have achieved on the glorious and historical road of the creation of our own state—and no nation can survive without its own state—everything we have achieved we have achieved because we managed to gather strength among our own people, because we had such a party, such a program, and because we knew we could lean on our people, and because we knew how to help ourselves, and dear Lord also helped us, and this will continue to happen to us if we stay they way we are. [tumultuous applause]

"For this reason, I call on you dear citizens of Dubrovnik and all citizens of the Dubrovnik-Neretva county to vote again, to give your vote of confidence in HDZ representatives, because they mean...[pauses] Because the HDZ is tantamount to the safeguard of the future of the Croatian state, the safeguard that they will not be able to return us to some Yugoslav or Balkan den, although many would like this. [tumultuous applause]

"I remind you that when we—on the behalf of the HDZ, here and in all parts of the Croatian homeland here and abroad [as heard]—presented the program of the creation of the Croatian freedom and Croatian state, no other party even dared to think about this. [tumultuous applause]

"Be aware of the fact that there are still forces in the international community who are not in favor of an independent Croatia and who would like to return us to some sort of Yugoslav, or even wider—Balkan frameworks. But, Dubrovnik and the entire Croatia have always been part of the western Christian civilization and we will remain so because our people have matured and it will not allow itself to be led by those who are not mature and who do not know how to appreciate the freedom of their own people and state [applause].

"For that reason, dear Croat brothers and sisters, dear Croat youth, we have to be aware not to allow anyone to play with what we have achieved and bring into

This report may contain copyrighted material. Copying and dissemination is prohibited without permission of the copyright owners.

question those sacrifices that we have had to make. These sacrifices, compared to what we have achieved, are not big, but are great in the sense that we have to appreciate them and not allow again the Croatian people to suffer as they did here on this small island off Dubrovnik or in Bleiburg and elsewhere.

"We knew how to draw conclusions from the history of Dubrovnik and the overall history of Croatia—we have created a force that watches over the future of the Croatian people and the Croatian state—that is the Croatian Democratic Union. Therefore, put your trust in it again. Let our Dubrovnik and our only Croatia flourish. Cheers." [applause]

Army Officer Says Military Action Not Ruled Out

LD0710165495 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1644 GMT 7 Oct 95

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Zagreb, Oct. 7 (TANJUG)—Croatia is not giving up the intention of resolving the issue of Sector East through military action although the status of this region is being discussed at the Serb-Croat talks, which are described by international observers as a huge advancement towards a political solution.

'If we fail to resolve in a peaceful way the problem of eastern Slavonia, Baranja and Western Srem, I am certain that the Croatian Army will do this very successfully,' Croatian Army Chief of General Staff General Zvonimir Chervenko said at a military event in the town of Osijek, in western Croatia.

Sector East, i.e. the Srem and Baranja region, is the only part of the Republic of Serb Krajina not occuppied by the Croatian Army.

The commander of the Osijek area, General Djuro Decak, said at the same event that 'the Craotian Army in this region faces numerous complex tasks.'

The continuation of the talks on a peaceful solution of the status of the Srem-Baranja region will be held in Zagreb on Monday.

Minister Vows To 'Celebrate Christmas' in Vukovar

LD0710180695 Mostar Croatian Radio Herzeg-Bosnia in Serbo-Croatian 1700 GMT 7 Oct 95

[Report from Split by correspondent Marija Erceg]

[FBIS Translated Excerpt] Gojko Susak, deputy chairman of the Croatian Democratic Union [HDZ] and defense minister, was a guest today at a constituent assembly of the HDZ branch in Split-Dalmatia county. He stressed that the HDZ will face the voters at the forthcoming elections with nothing to hide. He said that what still remains is the issue of Vukovar in which—and I quote—I will celebrate Christmas with Mrs. Kata Solic, as I promised her, regardless of the means we need to resort to in order to return Vukovar to Croatian sovereignty.

Encouraged by loud applause from many city deputies and guests, Minister Susak commented on some negative developments in Croatia. Some things should be examined well. This is not under the competence of my ministry, and I am not an expert in the area, but it is obvious that something has gone wrong in the process of ownership transformation and privatization. We must halt and prevent that, no matter who is involved and how outspoken are the Croats involved, because, as I can see, the worst fraudulent practices are happening under the disguise of Croathood. We will look back and examine what happened and how it happened. [passage omitted]

Commentary Views Fear of Return to Old Yugoslavia

AU0610141195 Zagreb VECERNJI LIST in Serbo-Croatian 5 Oct 95 p 4

[Commentary by Mirko Galic: "Croatia Does Not Fall Into the Package"]

[FBIS Translated Text] The fear of the restoration of any sort of Yugoslavia is probably the strongest political emotion of Croats and in Croatia, so deep that it influences—and determines—every policy and every state action. If anyone, from the outside or the inside, tries to impose the "Yugoslav idea"—be it an "elastic", "confederal" or some sort of "modern" Yugoslavia—that person has gone astray if he tries to carry that idea out in Croatia. For Croats, Yugoslavdom is—I dare say so, although I know, we all know, that in history and in politics nothing is final—a matter of the past. Both because of the "rich" experiences from the previous two Yugoslavias, both of which ended with war, and because of the present advantages which the Croatian democratic state has to offer, a return into the past could only be an illusion, an adventure, but by no means a project which would have any meaning.

Not everybody in the world might have given up Yugoslavia, particularly not those to whom it was good, because it served some purpose of theirs, or their interests. However, who could once again connect peoples who are coming out of a bloody war, when all know who provoked it—the intellectual, religious, military, and political leaderships from Belgrade—and for what reason—for the creation of "Greater Serbia," and when we know what sort of contrasts existed in former Yugoslavia (and, finally, tore it apart). The fact that Richard Holbrooke—like others before

This report may contain copyrighted material. Copying and dissemination is prohibited without permission of the copyright owners.

him—makes a pilgrimage to Milosevic does not mean that the American has forgotten whose fingerprints of responsibility were left on the battlefield. States are sentenced to pragmatic action, but how far can their pragmatism go?

Today it is harder to believe in the creation of some new unions on the territory of former Yugoslavia than it was half a year ago, when we could still not tell that such big changes in the balance of power have come about, as was reflected in the "Flash" and the "Storm."

Who, today, can impose upon Croatia any sort of ties—not only association—which would harm its sovereignty? I would not like to announce the end before the end, but I also do not want to nourish the huge fear that we once again will be "closed" in the same "pen." Who could do that? Maybe a "shepherd" can be found, but Croatia is not a "sheep" or a "lamb." With whom? With the country which caused the aggression, which would be a precedent in history? And what for? To prove that the future of Europe is not in "ethnical states," which can be proved in a different, better, and less painful way.

What someone would maybe like to do is one thing; what someone can do is quite another. The Croatian state has won the right to permanent survival for itself; it has democratic institutions, economic viability and perspectives, military power, and the will (energy) of its people. That is enough to prevent others from taking away what belongs to it, enough for its destiny to be decided in Zagreb, and nowhere else—not Washington, Moscow, Brussels, or New York. Some may say that the Council of Europe keeps Croatia in the same "package" with Bosnia-Herzegovina and Serbia, that the European Union has a similar "package," and that in it Croatia is tied with other countries of former Yugoslavia. Why not add that Holbrooke goes to Zagreb, Belgrade, Sarajevo? Does the American wish to create a new Yugoslavia? Or solve the crisis of the old one?

Once again, I do not exclude that there are people with "nostalgic ideas" elsewhere too, abroad. However, is it time for nostalgia? In the world, particularly in Europe, the "new order" is still being finalized, after the tectonic quakes caused by the fall of communism; who might feel like trying to recreate history? Peace, if it is intended to be profound, is not built on a return to the past, peace is created so as to face the future, and to secure the future. Should we be afraid if the European institutions—or the world diplomacy—within a "global solution," think about the whole, about all the countries which, for one or another reason, are still mentioned together? Afraid—no, because those who propose, no matter whether they come from Strasbourg, Brussels, or Washington, do not have the same model for different cases, and because Croatia is several light years ahead of Serbia. We have to be cautious—yes, because the devil is in the details once again.

In the final phase of war and peace, Croatia, from the outside, is in the same "package" with the others. In fact, its position is different, firmer, and stronger, and enables it to steer its own destiny. Despite all the pressure, which is not without a motive—one of them being the intention to reduce the "weight" of Croatia.

Report Analyzes Opposition Electoral Alliance

AU1010073495 Zagreb HRVATSKI OBZOR in Serbo-Croatian 2 Oct 95 pp 12-13

[Article by Zelimir Zanko: "The Seven United by Despair"]

[FBIS Translated Excerpt] Driven into a corner by the Croatian Democratic Community's [HDZ] successful identification with the military successes of the Croatian Army, by the change of allegiances of erstwhile leading members of the opposition, and amendments to the Electoral Law directed against smaller parties, the seven most important opposition parties have managed to find a common language. It was stated at a news conference that the opposition has found a way to deal with the tragic segmentation so far, which cost it a lot of seats in past elections: In each constituency one opposition candidate will run against the HDZ, with the support of the other opposition parties. In allocating places on the lists in the 28 constituencies, the Croatian Social Liberal Party [HSLS] with nine places and the Croatian Peasant Party [HSS] with seven places have fared the best, although other smaller parties, such as the Croatian National Party [HNS], the Croatian Independent Democrats [HND], and the Social Democratic Party [SDP] with three places each, and the Istrian Democratic Party [IDS] with two places, cannot complain. On the contrary, the agreement could be assessed as a rather generous act on the part of the HSLS and HSS, because, thanks to the collective strength of the opposition, it is a unique chance for the smaller parties to enter the Chamber of Representatives through constituencies, which would have been otherwise definitely out of reach for them.

The Opposition Is Ripe

The agreement reached undoubtedly speaks for the degree of maturity that the opposition parties have reached. First of all, it is important to note that the extreme left or right parties have been barred from the opposition's electoral alliance, including the Croatian Party of Right [HSP], which is a right-wing party, but not an extreme

This report may contain copyrighted material. Copying and dissemination is prohibited without permission of the copyright owners.

one. On one hand, this applies to marginal leftist and local parties, such as Dalmatian Action, the SDU [Social Democratic Union], ASH [Action of Social-Democrats of Croatia], and the Istrian Democratic Alliance for Rijeka [RIDS], which, except for the last one, used to have representation in previous parliaments, but now they are not able to maintain it under the new conditions of a higher threshold, so that the major opposition parties have decided that their possible addition to the alliance would cause the opposition, by making it even more ideologically heterogeneous, to lose more than it would gain by absorbing their few voters. Second, ideological closeness does not appear to mean much when fundamental partisan interests are concerned, such as at general elections. Thus, in a major quarrel, the coalition of regional parties involving the IDS, Dalmatian Action, and the RIDS has broken up. Only several days ago it was announced that the IDS and Dalmatian Action had reached an agreement on an electoral coalition. However, since it appeared to the Istrians that they would not be able to win 8 percent of votes in a coalition with Dalmatian Action, while in constituencies in Istria and Rijeka there was a strong belief that they are capable of faring well alone, that is, in a major coalition, the alliance broke up. Dalmatian Action is generally hampered by inadequate organization and internal conflicts, so it will not play any significant role in the elections. Similarly, the liaison between the IDS and the RIDS has broken up, because the IDS has decided to run in the elections independently, particularly focusing on Rijeka. Third, it is apparent that many local conflicts within the opposition alliance, which won in previous elections in all the major Croatian cities, have negatively affected the level of its readiness to cooperate, particularly in Rijeka, where it has not been decided yet whether the united opposition will put forward an SDP or an HSLS candidate. Whether the bad example of Rijeka will negatively influence potential voters of the new alliance will be seen soon.

As for the right of the spectrum of opposition parties, it has been clear from the beginning that there is no place in the electoral alliance for extremist parties, such as Schwartz's New Croatian Right, even though the admission of the HSP was reconsidered and finally discarded, chiefly because of the prevalent conviction in the united opposition that the HSP is just an extension of the ruling party.

In the constituencies there will not be any candidates of Paraga's HSP 1861, which, although part of the union, has finally ceded its place to the HNS at the negotiations, having assessed its chances as small. Nevertheless, another option is being reconsidered for Paraga, probably a place on some of the opposition's state lists.

Pankretic Against Tudjman

According to information that we received before the completion of this issue of HRVATSKI OBZOR, in the proportional representation part, the most important part of the elections, where 80 deputies are elected, several opposition state lists will be put forward. We have been told by the HSLS that the Liberals will run in the proportional elections alone, with a list void of guest politicians from other parties and with Drazen Budisa as the probable head of the list. It is obvious that the HSLS estimates that it is still highly esteemed by the voters, which is sufficient for its independent run, thanks principally to the impressive names in the party, of whom many are still there, even after the departure of the influential national wing. The second interesting opposition state list, called in the HNS the list of the center right, has been formed around the union of the NS [expansion unknown]. There are also the IDS and the Slavonia-Baranja Party, but also the HSS, which is the greatest surprise. The second big surprise is that, according to this disposition, the Croatian Christian Democratic Union [HKDU] led by Marko Veselica would join the HSS, which has been fostering Christian democratic principles for quite a while, and is even a member of the European Union of Christian Democrats, so Veselica would be placed appropriately high on the list. The bearer of this mixed list, which would include the leaders of all the united opposition parties, would most probably be the most popular opposition politician, Josip Pankretic. That list, like the liberal one, has a good chance of success in the elections and there is no doubt that it will easily pass the threshold of 11 percent of the votes that is anticipated for major coalitions.

The third state list could be formed around those leftist parties and regionalists that have been barred from the centralist alliance, in constituencies as well as in the proportional representation part. The leader of this nostalgic alliance, which is supported by some newspapers, could be the "modest" Vladimir Bebic, the new leader of the Titoist SDU. However, judging by their objective strength, they have no chance whatsoever either in the majority or in the proportional representation parts of the elections.

This possible coalition will certainly not find the threshold of 5 percent suitable. This is not as certain for the HND, though, which also fell out of the centralist agreement regarding the proportional representation part, so it is announcing now that it will put forward its own list with nonparliamentary Christian democrats, such as Keglevic's Croatian Christian Democratic Party

This report may contain copyrighted material. Copying and dissemination is prohibited without permission of the copyright owners.

[HKDS] and Mesic's Christian Democrats of Medjimurje [KDM]. Such a list, sustained by mere despair in view of the extremely high electoral threshold, despite Manolic's daring statements, has no chances of success. [passage omitted]

Sokol Says Constitution Will Not Change

AU0610131295 Split SLOBODNA DALMACIJA in Serbo-Croatian 30 Sep 95 p 5

[Interview with Dr. Smiljko Sokol by Olga Ramljak; place and date not given: "Croatia—Banovina? Newspaper Nonsense!"]

[FBIS Translated Text] There are ever more frequent announcements in the preelection campaign that the party in power, HDZ [Croatian Democratic Community] needs a two-thirds majority in the elections, so that on its own votes it could push constitutional changes or even a whole new constitution through parliament. There are even reports that a new draft constitution is already prepared, and its authorship is ascribed to the constitutional law professor and coauthor of the current Constitution of the Republic of Croatia, Dr. Smiljko Sokol.

[Ramljak] Have you written a new constitution? we asked Dr. Sokol, exclusively for SLOBODNA DALMACIJA.

[Sokol] I have made neither a draft, nor a new constitution, nor any great or small changes to the Constitution of the Republic of Croatia.

[Ramljak] In that case, is there any truth in the story about establishing the Banovina of Croatia, as was announced in one press article recently?

[Sokol] There is absolutely no truth in that article. Everything that has been said about establishing the Banovina of Croatia is the biggest nonsense I have read in the field of constitutional law, in the last few years and as I have been dealing with this subject, I really have read a lot of foolish things. I was surprised, but then I laughed at it heartily and with gusto.

[Ramljak] Does that mean that a purely presidential system is not going to be established in Croatia?

[Sokol] There will be no purely presidential system. Nobody is even thinking about it. Personally, as a professor of constitutional law, and as I have, after all, written in the textbook "Constitutional Law" (pp 242-243), I could never have suggested or written any kind of constitutional solutions to establish a purely presidential system, as applied in the United States of America.

[Ramljak] Why?

[Sokol] Because a purely presidential system is applicable only in countries like the United States of America, where political parties traditionally are not strictly programmatic, and even less ideologically opposed, and where within the parties there is no party discipline at all, particularly not among the representatives, in the U.S. Congress.

The U.S. system of presidential government takes to an extreme the sharp organizational and functional division of power between the executive and legislative authority. The incumbent U.S. president holds executive power, and is not politically responsible to Congress. Government does not exist as a separate body, but the incumbent president is, in fact, the prime minister, and cabinet secretaries are responsible only to him. On the other hand, the President of the United States of America cannot dissolve the chambers of Congress. True, he has a right of veto, which can be overridden by a two-thirds majority in a repeated vote, but this only refers to laws. Through the state budget, Congress can block any suggestion or action of the president as the incumbent of executive power. Therefore, in European circumstances, where the party program and very often also the ideology is challenged, and where there is almost without exception firm party discipline—such a system, when the president does not have a majority in parliament, would bring about a total blockade of the constitutional, legal and political system. Therefore a purely presidential system has not been applied in any country of Europe, so I am sure that it will never be applied in the state of Croatia.

[Ramljak] What chances would you give the idea that has come from the ranks of HDZ leaders, that President Tudjman should be appointed lifelong president of the Republic of Croatia?

[Sokol] President Franjo Tudjman is the democratic leader of the Croatian people and a chief of state who, through direct elections, has the firm political legitimacy to perform his constitutional powers. Croatia is and will forever remain a democratic state in which the chief of state is elected, and it is precisely in the most democratic countries that the chief of state is elected directly by the people. Accordingly, I think that regardless of the motives, the suggestion to appoint Dr. Franjo Tudjman lifelong president would not be in line with the Croatian Constitution. President Tudjman will remain in constant association with the Croatian nation, its interests and aspirations.

I am sure that also in the next presidential elections in summer 1997, Dr. Franjo Tudjman will be elected president of the Republic by a large majority of the Croatian electorate.

This report may contain copyrighted material. Copying and dissemination is prohibited without permission of the copyright owners.

[Ramljak] How do you interpret the information that came out of the recent Brijuni meeting of the European Constitutional Courts, that the inability of the Chamber of Counties to veto the laws passed by the Chamber of Representatives represents a constitutional loophole?

[Sokol] There is no constitutional loophole. According to Article 77, the Chamber of Representatives and the Chamber of Counties can be dissolved whenever the majority of their representatives makes a decision to do so for any reason. That means, at any moment, theoretically even on the first day when they meet after the elections.

Constitutionally, based upon Article 73, the situation regarding all the consequences of the regular expiry of the four-year mandate and the dissolution is judicially equivalent. In both situations, both constitutionally and judicially, as well as in reality, there is no Chamber for which the mandate has expired, or the Chamber has been dissolved. In both situations elections for the representatives have to take place at the latest 60 days from the moment of the expiry of the mandate. According to Article 81 of the Constitution, the Chamber of Counties may return the law to the Chamber of Representatives to vote on it again, for a period of 15 days from the date of its adoption. When the mandate of the Chamber of Representatives expires or the Chamber is dissolved—according to Article 73 of the Constitution, there can be a new Chamber of Representatives at the earliest after a period of 60 days. Consequently, a veto cannot be applied because the 15-day period cannot be respected. This is not an unusual constitutional and judicial situation. The well-known example in the execution of constitutional law, with an inverse situation, but constitutionally and judicially the same, is the U.S. President's pocket veto. The U.S. President, like all state chiefs, verifies laws, but he can put a suspension veto on them. He must accept laws or return them to Congress within 10 days. The laws adopted by Congress, and usually there is a number of them, at the end of the session—are neither returned to the Congress by the President, nor accepted, because meanwhile the 10-day period expires. There is no Congress, and laws end up figuratively in his pocket. Nobody considers that a legal loophole in the U.S. Constitution.

[Ramljak] Does that mean that there will be no changes in the Constitution, regardless of the announcements that Croatia needs a strong central authority?

[Sokol] The state of Croatia is both constitutionally and in reality a highly decentralized state. The system of local self-government has been adopted by the Constitution, and, despite many difficulties, elaborated by a law. The criticism is most often directed at the system of counties. However, all in all, I think there is no reason to change the Constitution, because the existing one, including the existing position of counties—enables both the expression of local, as well as regional, interests, and their democratic integration into the common Croatian interest. Croatia is a unitary state and any changes that try to introduce a formal or concealed federalization of Croatia under the title of regionalism—are unacceptable and cannot pass.

Army Officials Receive OSCE Delegation

LD1010110895 Zagreb Radio Croatia Network in Serbo-Croatian 1000 GMT 10 Oct 95

[FBIS Translated Text] General Zvonimir Cervenko, chief of the General Staff of the Croatian Army and Deputy Defense Minister Josip Juras have received members of a mission of the Organization for Security and Cooperation in Europe [OSCE] and the Council of Europe in the Defense Ministry during their visit to Croatia. The meeting was also attended by Darko Bekic, Croatian ambassador to This organization.

Andre Erdesh, head of the mission, informed them about their visits to Knin and Osijek. He asked General Cervenko to present his views on the situation in the Knin area in the wake of its liberation. General Cerveko said that institutions of civil authority now operate in Knin. In General Cervenko's words, individual criminal cases are being investigated and some members of the Croatian Army who have disobeyed their orders are being subjected to disciplinary procedures.

Erdesh was interested in the views of Josip Juras and General Cervenko regarding the Erdut agreement and the peaceful reintegration of the occupied area of the Republic of Croatia.

They stressed Croatia's desire to peacefully reintegrate eastern Slavonia and Baranja into the constitutional and legal system of the Republic of Croatia and the Croatian Army's readiness to liberate this area militarily. Over 2 million mines in the liberated areas were also discussed. Foreign help in defusing them would be welcome. A quantity of seized chemical weapons was also discussed. Such weapons are banned under international conventions, so the Croatian Army will destroy them.

This report may contain copyrighted material. Copying and dissemination is prohibited without permission of the copyright owners.

Gligorov Reported 'Improving' in Hospital

AU0710143195 Paris AFP in English 1225 GMT 7 Oct 95

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Skopje, Oct 7 (AFP)—Macedonian [The Former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia—FYROM] President Kiro Gligorov "is improving" in hospital, doctors said Saturday [7 October], four days after a car bomb attempt on his life.

It was the first time the daily medical bulletin spoke of an improvement in his condition since he underwent operations for shrapnel injuries to his head which reportedly cost him the use of his right eye.

The 78-year-old president had been taken off a respirator Friday when he was reported to be conscious and talking to his wife and son.

The bulletin said he was breathing unaided, his cardiovascular activity was "normal" and his nervous system and right eye were "satisfactory."

A well-informed medical source said he had lost the use of his right eye, although doctors are planning another operation on it.

Gligorov was seriously wounded when a car bomb exploded as his presidential cortege drove through central Skopje early Tuesday. His driver was killed and six other people were injured.

One of them, Hristo Hristomanov, 74, a former member of the government under the communist regime, died Saturday from his injuries.

Meanwhile the government daily NOVA MAKEDONIJA said slogans hostile to the president and his moves to alter Macedonia's flag had appeared on walls in the central town of Prilep.

Opposition groups oppose his plan to change the flag to soothe Greek fears of Macedonian expansionism as part of a normalisation of relations between the neighbouring two countries.

In return for that and changes to the constitution, Greece has promised to lift a unilateral economic embargo on Macedonia.

There had been fears that the car bomb attack was carried out by extremists opposed to normalising ties with Greece, although opposition groups condemned the incident.

Doctors Plan Further Surgery

AU0910133495 Skopje NOVA MAKEDONIJA in Macedonian 9 Oct 95 p 1

[Unattributed report: "The Health Condition of Gligorov Remains Stable"]

[FBIS Translated Text] According to the latest medical bulletin that was issued last night [8 October] at 6.30 PM, the condition of the president of the Republic of Macedonia [The Former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia—FYROM] Kiro Gligorov is stable within normal clinical parameters. Yesterday ophthalmologic examinations were carried out following the arrival of the French ophthalmologic team in Skopje with whom the local medical team had consultations on plans for additional surgery on Gligorov's right eye. The medical bulletin on President Gligorov's condition after the assassination attempt of 3 October in central Skopje reports that the intensive care is continuing. Owing to the president's stable condition, the medical team reports that from today there will be just one medical bulletin per day.

Yesterday, antiterrorist police experts from the United States, Great Britain, and Germany completed their detailed investigation and collection of evidence from the scene of the criminal attempt on the life of President Kiro Gligorov. All the evidence collected over the past six days on part of Makedonija Street in central Skopje will be ordered, cleaned up, and taken for detailed analyses.

Assembly Issues Declaration on Gligorov Attack

AU0610213995 Skopje NOVA MAKEDONIJA in Macedonian 6 Oct 95 p 2

["Declaration of the Macedonian Assembly" issued in Skopje on 5 October]

[FBIS Translated Text] At its session on 5 October, the Assembly of the Republic of Macedonia [The Former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia—FYROM] issued the following declaration on the basis of Article 68, Paragraph 2, of the Macedonian Constitution and following the 3 October assassination attempt on President Kiro Gligorov.

1. The Assembly of the Republic of Macedonia condemns the assassination attempt on President Kiro Gligorov and assesses it as a terrorist act and a brutal attempt to liquidate the most outstanding personality of our times and to obstruct the course of the Macedonian state toward its consolidation and adherence to the European and world's integrational processes. The Assembly also assesses that the assassination attempt represents an act against reason and peaceful processes in

This report may contain copyrighted material. Copying and dissemination is prohibited without permission of the copyright owners.

the region and against all forces that are pledging for these processes and find them as the only alternative for the Balkans as a region of peace, democracy, and mutual goodneighborly cooperation and confidence.

2. The Assembly of the Republic of Macedonia emphasizes that there are no such forces that can obstruct the Republic of Macedonia in the consistent accomplishment of the road that it has chosen with the Constitution and with other acts as an expression of the will of the citizens, but also as an indispensable orientation for the development of the republic in conformity with the needs that are imposed by the modern development of democracy and humanity. The Republic of Macedonia will firmly adhere to its European orientation, to its readiness for cooperation with all democratic countries in the world, particularly its determination to develop goodneighborly relations, undertake and support initiatives for the reinforcement of peace in the region and for the reinforcement of mutual confidence among the states in the region. The Republic of Macedonia firmly persists on the basic constitutional determinations for its internal order, for interethnic and religious tolerance, for common life and mutual confidence and respect.

3. The Assembly of the Republic of Macedonia expresses its gratitude to the citizens of the Republic of Macedonia for their clear and unanimous admonition of the criminal assassination attempt against President Kiro Gligorov, and it expresses its satisfaction for the confidence that they have demonstrated for the constitutional institutions of the state.

The Assembly of the Republic of Macedonia expresses its gratitude to the leaderships of the religious communities in the Republic of Macedonia for their unanimous admonition of the criminal act against the President of the Republic of Macedonia Mr. Kiro Gligorov.

The Republic of Macedonia also appreciates the activity of the political parties that condemned the criminal act against the president of the Republic of Macedonia. By doing what they clearly declared, they associated their existence and activities with the development of democratic processes, the peace and the function of the state institutions as lasting constitutional and civilizatory achievements.

The Assembly of the Republic of Macedonia also urges that political parties and their leaders refrain from statements and activities that may, under these new circumstances, encourage some adventurous individuals and groups to undertake unreasonable activities.

4. The Assembly of the Republic of Macedonia expresses its gratitude to a large number of heads of states, political leaders, and outstanding foreign personalities for their admonition of this outrageous terrorist act.

The Assembly of the Republic of Macedonia has particular appreciation for their wishes for a speedy recovery of President Kiro Gligorov and his return to his presidential duties.

5. The Assembly of the Republic of Macedonia expresses its gratitude to the experts of the surgical clinics in the Medical Faculty in Skopje, the other medical staffs from the clinics, and the experts and staff of the Town Hospital in Skopje, as well as all the experts and medical teams from abroad for their highly professional and conscientious attitude in extending medical assistance to the president of the Republic of Macedonia.

The Assembly of the Republic of Macedonia thanks the state bodies of those countries that sent and offered professional teams to help the president of the Republic of Macedonia.

6. The Assembly of the Republic of Macedonia expects the competent bodies in the Republic of Macedonia to carry out the investigation in a quick and efficient way to discover the organizers and executors of this outrageous act. The efficiency in the accomplishment of these assignments will have an effect on the lasting stability and security in the Republic of Macedonia, and it will prove the state's strength and maturity in fighting all kinds of terrorist attempts.

7. This declaration will be published in the Official Gazette of the Republic of Macedonia.

Interior Ministry Provides Description of Suspect

AU0910183895 Skopje MIC in English 9 Oct 95

[FBIS Transcribed Text] The Interior Ministry announced the preliminary details connected with the possible identity of the participants in the assassination attempt on President Gligorov that took place on October 3. As we were told yesterday by Assistant Minister Stojan Trenevski, a photo-fit was made of the buyer of the car bomb "Citroen Ami 8," manufactured in 1975, with licence plates no. KU 240 MB. He described the man as being around 30 years old, medium built, blond, without any specific features, around 170 cm high.

According to Trenevski, the man fitting this description showed up at the used-car market "Fershped" in Skopje on September 24, at 11.00 hours, nine days before the attempted assassination on Gligorov, and bought the car in which the bomb was planted. In order to shed some light on the activities preceding the assassination attempt on Gligorov, the Interior Ministry sent out a call yesterday to any citizens of the Republic of Macedonia [The Former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia—FYROM] who

This report may contain copyrighted material. Copying and dissemination is prohibited without permission of the copyright owners.

may have some information regarding the buyer of the car or the movements of the "Ami" in the period from September 24 to October 3, to inform their nearest police station.

NOVA MAKEDONIJA unofficially informs that the owner of the "Citroen Ami 8," who is from Kriva Palanka, made the transaction with the anonymous customer very quickly that day. According to this information, the buyer immediately agreed to the price of 650 German marks, paying enormous interest to the bodywork of the car, explaining that he would use the car for car parts.

However, he did not show the owner of the "Ami" any documents, saying that they would make the transfer of the documents in a couple of days. What intrigues the public the most, (according to unofficial sources) is that this suspect allegedly spoke with a Serbo-Croatian accent, with a Kajkavian dialect. This information was neither confirmed, nor denied yesterday.

However, the fact that the buyer of the car was especially interested in its bodyparts is very indicative, since it points to the conclusion that the would-be assassins simply did not want to leave anything to chance.

Unofficial, however, well-informed police sources claim that this vehicle was not chosen accidentally. Namely, "Ami 8" is made of very thin metal, with bodyparts merely screwed together, ensuring a huge blast would be created in the explosion.

Ethnic Albanian Parties Condemn 'Terrorist Act'

AU0610195795 Zurich BOTA SOT in Albanian 5 Oct 95 p 6

[Article by Sh. Halimi and E. Maloku: "The Assassins Have Not Yet Been Found"]

[FBIS Translated Excerpt] [Passage omitted]

The Party for Democratic Prosperity [PDP] Is Against the Assassination Attempt

All the political parties in Macedonia [The Former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia—FYROM] condemned this attempt as a terrorist act. A communique issued by the PDP expresses concern and that of the Albanian public in Macedonia over this shameful terrorist act. The PDP urges all of its members and citizens in Macedonia to maintain peace, dignity, and harmony. The PDP believes that democracy in Macedonia is a value, orientation, and common destiny of all its citizens.

A communique by the People's Democratic Party [NDP] states that this act occurred at a time when the Republic of Macedonia was trying to regulate relations with its neighbors and resolve its internal problems, conditions necessary to strengthen stability and preserve peace in these turbulent areas.

A communique by the Party for Democratic Prosperity of Albanians in Macedonia states that this assassination attempt is an act committed by small clandestine groups who have indefinite interests and are working against the Macedonian citizens. We hope that this case will not be exploited as a pretext against any political party, whatever it may be, as this will prompt the opening of unnecessary fronts.

The Union of Albanian Intelligentsia in Macedonia also reacted against this assassination attempt, stating that: "We, Albanian intellectuals, consider this terrorist act to be an attempt to destabilize our country. That is why we strongly condemn it, moreover as this act was committed at a time when the peaceloving policy of the Republic of Macedonia was increasingly being testified and at a time when President Gligorov's contribution to resolving interneighboring disputes started to yield concrete results to ensure stability in the region and beyond." [passage omitted]

Thaci: Attack Came From Abroad

AU0910132695 Skopje VECER in Macedonian 9 Oct 95 p 4

[Unattributed report: "The Votes of the Albanians Have a Price"]

[FBIS Translated Text] Tetovo, 9 October, (Reuter). If the car bomb that injured Macedonian [The Former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia—FYROM] President Kiro Gligorov leads to new elections, the country's ethnic Albanians will play a major role. "The price for their support to any candidate," Menduh Thaci, vice president of the Party for Democratic Prosperity of Albanians, stated, "will be their full political equality."

"Whenever the elections are held, the new president will need the votes of the Albanians," Thaci stated. "We want Macedonia to be a state for all its citizens, but at the moment we are being treated as second-class citizens," he said in an interview.

Thaci stated that he was relieved that none of the ethnic groups or political parties in Macedonia had tried to blame the Albanians for the attack against Gligorov. "That would have brought about a real destabilization in the country." "I believe that the attack was an act of political terrorism instigated from abroad," he said.

This report may contain copyrighted material. Copying and dissemination is prohibited without permission of the copyright owners.

Newspapers Comment on Attack, Investigation

Interior Ministry Criticized

AU0610152295 Skopje NOVA MAKEDONIJA in Macedonian 6 Oct 95 p 3

[Commentary by S. Colakovski: "Nonorganized and Confusing"]

[FBIS Translated Text] Everybody present and watching the news conference of the Ministry of the Interior of the Republic of Macedonia [The Former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia—FYROM] two days ago, on the brutal terrorist act against President Kiro Gligorov on Tuesday [4 October], remained totally disappointed.

On the one side, there was the great interest of the domestic and foreign news agencies, that is of the domestic and foreign public, because of the seriousness and the importance of the event. On the other side, however, competent heads of departments who came to the news conference were unprepared and confused in answering the journalists' numerous questions. Unfortunately, the public did not have the opportunity to see the key personalities of this ministry, whose presence at such an important moment was more than just obligatory. If we take into account that the key personalities of the Interior Ministry used to come to news conferences when, for instance, a group of burglars was caught or when a large quantity of narcotics was captured, the fact that they did not meet the public at the time when, in their own country, an assassination attempt against the president occurred, it certainly leads to the conclusion that the police were avoiding or did not have the guts to face the consequences of the tragic act. Saying that the first man and the deputy secretaries in the Interior Ministry "are busy" and, therefore, they cannot meet the public, shows that they actually did not have much to say.

While the citizens of Macedonia and the international public were waiting to hear competent and concrete opinions about the first findings of the investigation, a large number of substantial questions remained without answers. For instance, there were questions about whether there were any suspects in custody, or whether security procedures were violated, and so on.

Instead of this, the official personalities from this Ministry—who seemed to be in this position by accident—presented to the journalists known and irrelevant details from the police investigation (like the scheme and graphical description of the movement of the official vehicle or the blood group of President Gligorov), although the media had already received extensive information from the police investigation of the terrorist act, which was already presented and published in the mass media.

In the brief report on the functioning of security for top state personalities and buildings, for instance, with a large dose of self-confidence, it was pointed out that all this is done very efficiently and professionally, shoulder to shoulder with the procedures in the corresponding services for other world heads of state. That would have been true only if the assassination attempt that happened on Tuesday, in broad daylight and in the center of Skopje, on Makedonija St., had been a mere training exercise. The people of the Interior Ministry at the news conference acted exactly that way—as if there had not been an assassination attempt against the first man in the state! They categorically rejected the journalists' claims that security had not met the demands. They concluded that it is impossible to check 20,000 vehicles that daily pass near the president's car, or that they cannot check garbage containers next to which the president's Mercedes passes. In concluding that this is not the way to do it, the Interior Ministry's officials were practically looking for self-justification for their failures instead of giving a professional analysis of the event.

Security Negligence Alleged

AU0610211795 Skopje NOVA MAKEDONIJA in Macedonian 6 Oct 95 p 3

[Commentary by Z. Petrov: "Great Negligence in the Procedure"]

[FBIS Translated Text] It is well known that there is a special department in the Interior Ministry for guarding people and buildings, as well as the president of the state. Regarding the assassination attempt on the president, the first and basic question that is heard among the public is what his protection was like and whether the assassination attempt could have been predicted and possibly even prevented. In this case, predicting the attack is a totally different matter because there are other specialized services for counterintelligence activities and analyses. It is interesting to analyze whether all the necessary measures and security procedures for protecting the head of the Macedonian [The Former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia—FYROM] state were taken on 3 October. At a news conference two days ago, Blagoja Nikolovski, head of the Security Department, confirmed that all proscribed measures had been taken, which had never been bypassed before or on the critical day. Is this true?

First of all, it must be noted that the functions of this Interior Ministry service are laid down in the minutest detail in a special instruction book. It is not accessible to the public because there is a subsection in the Law on Internal Affairs by which it is written in a special official

This report may contain copyrighted material. Copying and dissemination is prohibited without permission of the copyright owners.

journal. Yesterday we managed to discover some of the instructions that are directly connected with the security of the president.

The first thing is that when the president is in the official vehicle, he should sit in the back seat while his bodyguard (security inspector) sits in the front, next to the driver. As we know, on the critical day—but it was a general practice, too—the president was sitting next to the driver, which means that security measures had been neglected. The explanation that was given at the news conference was that the president's wish to sit in the front seat had been respected. His preference to sit in the front seat represents a violation of the procedures, which are very decisive. In the interest of security, personal requests, wishes, and demands will not be respected, even if they are made by the head of the state. We can now say freely that if the measures of the instructions had been applied (if the president were sitting in the back seat), it is likely that Gligorov would have sustained less injuries.

The second important aspect that is connected with the president's security is related to his driving route. The head of the Security Department stated at the news conference that, from time to time, the route of the president from his residence to his office was changed, which is not true, because the black "Mercedes 500 SEL" with the known plates SK—001—AA, according to many witnesses, most of the time drove on "Vodnjanska St.", "Mito Hadzivasilev St.," "Makedonija St.," and "Dame Gruev St." on its way from Vodno [location of president's residence] to the Macedonian Assembly. Second, other security measures stipulate that just before the president departs, a team from the department should first travel the same road. This happens very rarely. Moreover—and this is very important—two vehicles should accompany the president, one in front and the other in back of the official car. As we know, on the day of the assassination attempt, only one vehicle was accompanying the president's "Mercedes," and it was in back because the president's vehicle was moving very slow due to a large traffic jam. All this leads to the conclusion that there had been too much negligence in the proscribed protocol for the protection of the state's first man.

It is not just police negligence, but it is a fact that President Gligorov was being driven in an armored vehicle. This was also stated at the news conference, and the explanation was very odd—it was said that this is a very expensive investment. We would herein only mention that the reinforcement of the metal parts of the vehicle and the special glass that is resistant to mechanical blows cost approximately 150,000 German marks. Let us just mention here that no state officials have an armored vehicle.

Finally, we must indicate that in the case of the assassination attempt against Kiro Gligorov, the Directorate for Security and Counterintelligence has a primary task to foresee and prevent what happened on 3 October by providing and analyzing appropriate data. The justifications, like the assassins were professionals and the attack was extremely professionally organized, cannot be accepted. The basic police slogan is that professional assassins can only be fought back by a top professional security service.

Parties Seen as Irresponsible

AU1010112495 Skopje NOVA MAKEDONIJA in Macedonian 7 Oct 95 p 13

[Commentary by Aleksandar Soljakovski: "The Price of Political Irresponsibility"]

[FBIS Translated Excerpt] [Passage omitted] Way back on "St Ilinden" day in 1991 our "biggest nationalists" of the VMRO-DPMNE [Internal Macedonian Revolutionary Organization-Democratic Party for Macedonian National Unity] called on the people to mutiny against treason, and called on the people to resist the national traitors.... This pamphlet was much criticized, but there were no consequences. They continued their harangue during the time they were present in parliament and also outside it. It is really difficult to make a choice from the "wealth" of the party's politically irresponsible, damaging, and dangerous statements and activities. Let us recall a few, however.

At a rally in Stip, the party demanded the rehabilitation of the terrorists Todor Aleksandrov and Vanco Mihajlov through the historic study of Dimitar Galev, which later became their official policy. In the first issue of their attempt to create the newspaper REPUBLIKA there appeared a competition to find a new Cernozemski (assassin of Yugoslav King Aleksandar). The party was repeatedly associated with pamphlets that convicted certain persons to death. Just recall the pamphlets bearing the seal of the Kicevo Communal Assembly, which this party controls. The party is connected with the bombers from [Titov] Veles, a fact that has not been given the necessary publicity in our country. At the time, Dimitar Crnomarov, the president of the party, went to the Radio Bitola studio carrying weapons and there were no consequences for him. The party organized a violent entry to the Assembly of the state when the official flag was burnt. Nevertheless, nobody suffered any consequences after this, either. The party occupied the offices of the SKM-PDP [The League of Communists

This report may contain copyrighted material. Copying and dissemination is prohibited without permission of the copyright owners.

of Macedonia-Party for Democratic Transformation] in Veles, but this was hushed up, too.

Projections of Enemies

The VMRO-DPMNE has been very successful in "projecting enemies." Systematically, almost since Gligorov first became president, they have persisted with the theory that he is "pro-Yugoslav" and "pro-Serb." As they got nowhere with this, they started to put forward the theory that he "is making concessions to Greece" and selling out Macedonian [The Former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia—FYROM] national interests, that he is plotting with the Albanians, whom, remember, "should have their nails cut off." How many times have we heard their presidential candidate Ljubisa Georgievski say that Gligorov is violating the Constitution?

Thinking that they would not be reported (or perhaps they wanted just the opposite) the party leaders often made statements abroad that were subsequently rejected by our public. Just recall the interview given by the party president and vice president to the well-known Velizar Encev of Bulgarian Television in which they said that the Republic of Bulgaria would soon become Macedonia's enemy number one and that Gligorov is its illegitimate president. This broadcast was also joined by Manasievski from the DP [Democratic Party], who supported the statement with a claim that the moment they seize power, they will not recognize the acts adopted by the current regime.

The statement by Branislav Sinadinovski, candidate for the election runoff in Skopje constituency 103, will be remembered as an insult. He said: "In Macedonia nobody can win the elections in a democratic way and with democratic means." In an attempt to save the situation, the party president later stated that he had been away and that he could not control the situation. It is really extremely difficult to pick out the monstrous constructions and accusations directed at the current regime, and President Gligorov in particular. Let us recall the strange incident at the VMRO-DPMNE congress in Prilep in 1991 when a certain Tode Petreski-Kovacot [the Blacksmith], at the instigation of a number of eminent members of the party, claimed that Gligorov bears most of the responsibility for the massacre of Macedonian soldiers on Kale [Skopje hill] in the Second World War. The delegates then called for a trial, resignation, punishment, death. This is something that remains to the present day as a way of expressing nationalist frustrations and fixations. We say to the present day, because only a few days before the assassination attempt on Gligorov, at the meeting of the convention for the defense of the name and flag in Ohrid, the following words were heard: "You just order an assassination, and we shall execute it." Comment on who and what inspires it, is superfluous!

The Scent of the Gunpowder

The number of people inciting political insanity is really large. If the "most nationalist" are the leaders of irresponsible activities, it does not mean that the others are any less responsible. Again, it is really difficult to make a representative choice among the irresponsible political activities of various political subjects. Just recall the statement by Mersim Polozani, PDP [Party for Democratic Prosperity] deputy, in the Assembly who felt the scent of gunpowder in the air; recall the time when the Albanians boycotted or tried to boycott the Constitution; recall the referendum on independence, the census, and the fact that they did not vote for the Constitution. A parallel referendum was organized for a parastate by the name of Ilirida, and the case of the paramilitary army seriously damaged the remnants of interethnic confidence. The "most meritorious" in this situation was the "president" of the phantom Tetovo university Fadil Sulejmani, who said that "if the government prevents us, everything will go to hell" and "if the police come, 200,000 Albanians will rush to the defense of the university." The results of the "defense" are well known.

The radical Democratic Party has made its "contribution" to all this by constantly speaking about plunder, arrests, and secret negotiations with the Albanians, about the parliament being illegal, as well as the regime! The call to anarchy is easily spotted. Their association with the nationalist euphoria created around the negotiations with Greece makes them equally responsible, regardless of whether they participate in such raliies or not. If you keep quiet about insanity, you yourself participate in the insanity.

The radical Democratic Party of Serbs in Macedonia has played a role in all this because it is insisting that there are 250,000 Serbs in Macedonia (deprived of their rights, of course). Their president Miletic states that he considers UNPROFOR in Macedonia as an occupier army and, therefore, an enemy. He is also threatening that if their demands are not met "there will be a fire in which we can all be burnt." One of the leaders of this party said that "accidental use of Macedonian territory for interventions in former Bosnia and Herzegovina will be lethal for FYROM."

In the arsenal of drastic responsibilities of the political factors, the attitude of the regime itself should not be neglected either. Let us mention that the delay in opening the department for education in the Albanian at the Academy of Pedagogy served as a direct stimulus

This report may contain copyrighted material. Copying and dissemination is prohibited without permission of the copyright owners.

for the events in Mala Recica. The affair of the brutal violence in "Hard Rock" Discotheque went unpunished. The case showed that crime can be committed in this country with impunity. [passage omitted]

Period Preceding Attack Viewed

AU0610220195 Skopje NOVA MAKEDONIJA in Macedonian 5 Oct 95 p 2

[Commentary by Erol Rizaov: "Assassination Attempt Against Peace in Macedonia"]

[FBIS Translated Text] Kiro Gligorov, the first democratically elected president to emerge from free elections in Macedonia [The Former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia—FYROM] was badly wounded in a classic terrorist assassination attempt for political reasons. The victim of the unreasonable terrorist act was the man who clearly told the whole world that Macedonia was on the road to independence and that it opted for peace. In the capital of the state, the man who did not allow Macedonia, thanks to his political and statehood attitude, to be dragged into the bloody Balkan tragedy "was shot." The citizens of Macedonia, after sustaining the first shock, are embittered, frightened, and extremely worried about the health of their president, the future of their country, and the destiny of their families. That is why the citizens of Macedonia generally believe that the criminals did not shoot only the president. It was an assassination attempt against peace in Macedonia.

The explosion came at a time when our country was catching the train to Europe for the first time in history and abandoning the Balkan road paved with cobblestones, firmly adhering to the construction of a modern democratic civil society, when the independence and sovereignty of the Republic of Macedonia was becoming a European and international reality. It was a time when the strongest adversaries of independent Macedonia had to surrender to the arguments that President Gligorov was persistently, calmly, and in a statehood manner being presented to the world's public. That is why the explosion of the subversive bomb was observed with anxiety, disgust, and admonition throughout the world, and it soon became clear that the bomb was actually directed against the policy to which Macedonia and its President Kiro Gligorov adhered.

There were almost no special measures for the personal security of President Gligorov. He was free in his movements and could be seen everywhere: at exhibitions, promotions, and on the streets. He could be seen on the same route to his office at the Assembly of the Republic of Macedonia every day. He was strongly opposed to making a big deal out of his presence somewhere, to having traffic stopped, or implementing strict protocol rules. He received everyone who wanted to see him or talk to him. It was not a surprise to meet him on the streets of Ohrid, Skopje, Stip, at exhibitions, promotions, sports and cultural manifestations, in restaurants and at other places where he was moving freely and without fear. According to statements by some of his closest associates, whenever there were warnings about his security, he would always reply that it should not be exaggerated and that great attention should not be given to his security. He could not accept that such security measures are necessary for any person in Macedonia, even the president. Actually, he deeply believed that he had nothing to fear.

We Must Not Close Our Eyes to Some of the Facts

Kiro Gligorov could have been shot any day. There had been many more favorable situations for an assassination attempt. However, the bomb was placed now, when the solution of the Macedonian question was in sight.

There is something to which we must not close our eyes, and it is something that we all have witnessed in the past period. We have practically become deaf observers of a political radicalism, of the creation of a climate that cannot be attributed as maturation of democratic processes. On the contrary, some parties, circles, newspapers, and even individuals on the Macedonian political scene were spreading an atmosphere full of threats, revenge, revolutionary steps, and nonrecognition and satanization of institutions and persons. It was not rare to ask for someone's head or blood. Let us not mention various labelling that were spread without any foundations and speculations that were directed toward a public destruction of the reputation of many personalities in political, economic, and cultural life.

In this odious atmosphere, President Gligorov was perhaps the main target. This has nothing to do with ordinary and normal criticisms conveyed on the address of the president, as is the case everywhere in the world. It has to do with something else, something that incites the climate for a terrorist act. Allegedly it did not look like anything new. Has this not been a usual thing to do in Macedonia ever since "eating up" living people? The history of the Balkan nations is full of examples of political cannibalism. Hundreds and hundreds of Macedonian authors, important and intelligent people, have been proclaimed traitors, and after being labelled in this way, many have been physically liquidated. Of course, in different historic periods, the way of self-destruction has also been different. Or, to be more precise, each period in Macedonia had its judges, executors, and victims.

When it seemed to become clear to everyone that Macedonia does not have as many people as it can produce

This report may contain copyrighted material. Copying and dissemination is prohibited without permission of the copyright owners.

national enemies, another phase of self-destruction began. There appeared "rescue men on duty" in the young Macedonian parliamentary democracy, in the Macedonian people and state, who easily hang on the disgraceful post everything that was a synonym for Macedonian statehood, starting with the Macedonian Orthodox Church and through the Academy of Science and Arts and other national institutions, from our top intellectuals and cultural authors to one's own language and national history.

Just a few months after the first general presidential elections, a disgusting speculation on the serious sickness of the newly elected president was spread. With the passing of the time, it became clear that President Gligorov was not only not sick but that he was too healthy and vital for his age. This immoral speculation was soon thrown into oblivion. There were other insinuations as well—first of all, that he was a Bulgarian lover, a label that was stuck on him during World War II, and even later, after which he was said to be a Serb lover with pro-Yugoslav orientation, then ready for compromises and with a communist pedigree as Tito's pupil, and so on. After there remained nothing to be said, when all these labels became absurd and even funny, the only thing left for some heated heads was to liquidate him physically. A political assassination attempt in Macedonia for the first time in many decades. Come back to the 19th century.

On Publicly Stated Blasphemies

Bearing all this in mind, the Macedonian state, including all democratic people regardless of their party affiliation, asks itself a serious question. How responsible were our politicians, their parties, associations, communities, forums, conventions, and even the media for publicly stated blasphemies and admonitions, and do we ever think on what grounds can fall words like: "Treason of the state," "Treason of the nation," "The state is led by national traitors," "Macedonia is sold out," "Macedonia is disgraced," and "Shameful Treason?" What can such accusations breed with mentally disturbed or politically blinded people when their brains are in a fog? Politicians can consider this a normal democratic pragmatic struggle for power. Nevertheless, when such publicly stated and communicated accusations enter the heads of extremists and criminals who do not necessarily belong to any political party and the national or religious affiliation is of no importance, it is clear that such brains can understand these statements as a call for rescuing the state, as a call for recruiting "national heroes" who can save Macedonia, their people, their nationality, or ethic group from the "terrible treason" by throwing a bomb and sacrificing their own lives. Let us recall: It was not long ago when our politicians called us to mutiny, to illegal struggle outside the institutions of the system, to chaos, to "Iliridas" [name of Macedonia's part for Albanians, as advocated by extremist party leaders], and cessation, federalization, political marches of the hungry, and all this was done in the name of the people or the nationality to which they belong. Was it not true that recently, here among us, a newspaper published a "competition for a new Cernozemski" on its front page? Perhaps someone has competed and got the place for saving Macedonia in the garbage of history. Can all this ambience be taken as a screen for democracy?

Democracy has its rules, and it cannot go beyond that. This line calls to anarchy.

Was so much courage necessary to recognize the bare fact that Macedonia and the Macedonians will not lose their identity if they lose the flag? Has it not been done so many times before in history, and with every new flag, the Macedonians remained Macedonians and Macedonia remained Macedonia.

Was it that difficult to admit that the peaceful policy of Macedonia will not produce any losses for it, to say publicly that Macedonia will not lose anything if it opts for a policy of coexistence between the Macedonians and the other nationalities, could it not be said that there can be no other solution? Was it that difficult to admit publicly that Macedonia will not lose anything if it has equally good relations with all neighbors? Was it difficult to admit that Macedonia can only gain with such a policy?

It is now clear to all of us that Macedonia may lose a lot. Perhaps some do not realize that yet. Or is this what they really want?

Assembly Ratifies Agreement on Ties to Greece

LD0910173795 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1706 GMT 9 Oct 95

[FBIS Translated Excerpt] Skopje, 9 Oct (TANJUG)—The parliament of the Former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia [FYROM] today ratified the temporary agreement on normalization of relations between Greece and the FYROM signed in New York on 13 September.

The parliament ratified the agreement with 104 votes for, one against, and two abstentions. [passage omitted]

This report may contain copyrighted material. Copying and dissemination is prohibited without permission of the copyright owners.

Crvenkovski Comments on Accord

AU0910190895 Skopje Radio Macedonia Network in Macedonian 1430 GMT 9 Oct 95

[Studio announcer-read report including parts of speech by FYROM Prime Minister Branko Crvenkovski to FYROM Assembly in Skopje on 9 October—recorded]

[FBIS Translated Text] [Studio announcer] In his speech, Prime Minister Branko Crvenkovski explained why the Macedonian [The Former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia—FYROM] nation was not able to form its state when others were doing so.

[Crvenkovski] In a way, there were three factors for this: internal factors, our neighbors, and the superpowers represented the historical constants with which we have been faced throughout our history and on which more or less depends the completion of the Macedonian state. Of course, historical moments when there is a satisfactory correlation among these three factors do not occur every year or every ten years.

[Studio announcer] He emphasized that the accord signed in New York was just a small part of the mosaic and of a complete political platform with clearly defined goals, first of all because one of the most important issues for us was to regulate relations with our neighbors.

[Crvenkovski] The Republic of Greece has recognized our state under the proviso that our state be addressed by the United Nations as FYROM. I repeat this because I want to draw your attention to the fact that in this reference there is the word Macedonia. With this accord and its correct implementation, we will eliminate the possibility of an economic embargo against the Republic of Macedonia now and in the future, but the lifting of the political embargo is equally important, that is, this accord opens the doors to international organizations and institutions that had been closed before because our southern neighbor opposed it. The Republic of Greece is a member of the EU and NATO. Our strategic determination is to join these structures. We hope that Greece will not just agree, but also be the main promoter of our integration.

[Studio announcer] The prime minister also stressed that the promotion of relations with Greece would contribute to the establishment of full relations with our northern neighbor, Yugoslavia. The Gligorov-Milosevic meeting last week showed that these expectations would soon be accomplished. Finally, Prime Minister Crvenkovski spoke about the assassination attempt on President Gligorov:

[Crvenkovski] Where did the planners of this outrageous act err? Just where the enemies of this people have always erred so far: In evaluating its collective consciousness and maturity. Namely, Kiro Gligorov is not a president who imposes his own policy contrary to the will of his people, but on the contrary, he is a renowned statesman, who feels the pulse and aspirations of the people and involves them in policy. More bombs are necessary to liquidate 2 million people.

Government Issues Decree on New State Flag

AU0610194695 Skopje Radio Macedonia Network in Macedonian 1100 GMT 6 Oct 95

[FBIS Translated Text] Today the decree proclaiming the new flag of the Republic of Macedonia [The Former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia—FYROM] and the Law on the Flag of the Republic of Macedonia were published in Macedonia's Official Gazette. This law redefines the flag of the Republic of Macedonia, which is red with a golden yellow sun. The sun has eight rays that extend to the edges of the flag, diagonally, horizontally, and vertically. The diameter of the sun is one-tenth of the flag's length. The center of the sun coincides with the point at which the diagonals of the flag meet. The length and width of the flag are at a ratio of two to one. This new symbol of the state was hoisted above the Palace of the Republic of Macedonia this morning, as well as throughout the country.

Tetovo Court Fines Ethnic Albanian Leaders

AU0910113995 Tirana RILINDJA in Albanian 4 Oct 95 p 4

[Unattributed report: "Party of Democratic Prosperity Leadership Fined"]

[FBIS Translated Text] Tetovo, 3 Oct—Tetovo Court has convicted several leaders of the Party of Democratic Prosperity [PDP] because of their use of the Albanian national flag and over a speech at a preelection rally organized last year. On charges of "disturbance of public order and the peace and incitement of national and religious hatred," Tetovo Magistrates Court fined PDP Chairman Arben Xhaferi; Deputy Chairman Menduh Thaci; Deputy Sali Ramadani; Xhevahir Xhemaili, former chairman of the Tetovo branch; and Ruhi Bakiu, the party's former acting secretary. They were fined the sum of 2,057 denars or one half of an average monthly salary in the Republic of Macedonia [The Former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia—FYROM].

This report may contain copyrighted material. Copying and dissemination is prohibited without permission of the copyright owners.

On the basis of a charge submitted by the Tetovo branch of the Interior Ministry and the testimonies of three policemen, Judge Aleksandra Saviroska declared all the accused guilty, stating that at a permitted rally during last year's election campaign they had used the national flag of the Republic of Albania, a foreign state, disturbing public order and the peace.

PDP Deputy Chairman Menduh Thaci told Voice of America in Tetovo, "I consider the punishments groundless, because it was merely a matter of a verbal offense, not a crime."

This is direct evidence of a loss of independence on the part of the court, which is operating under police instructions. Thaci said that the overwhelming majority of top-level state leaders issued the most serious insults and threats against the Albanians in Tetovo square during the Macedonian parties' electoral campaign, but nobody was brought to book.

This report may contain copyrighted material. Copying and dissemination is prohibited without permission of the copyright owners.

Dailies Comment on Prospect of NATO Expansion

WS0910143895

[FBIS Editorial Report] On 6 October two major Polish dailies, ZYCIE WARSZAWY and RZECZPOSPOLITA, published commentaries on NATO's decision to postpone its expansion until 1997.

In a 250-word commentary entitled "Cold Water" and appearing in Warsaw ZYCIE WARSZAWY in Polish on page one, Andrzej Kaniewski draws attention to the positive aspects of NATO expansion: "In postcommunist countries the prospect of joining NATO and the EU strengthens the trend toward developing the democratic system, reforming the economy, as well as introducing civilian control over the Armed Forces and adjusting it to West European standards." Kaniewski goes on to say, however, that "wishes do not always go hand in hand with reality. NATO strategists have once again poured a bucket of cold water on the hectic heads of the advocates of rapid integration. They drew the water from the Russian well. Postponement of a more detailed discussion on expansion of the organization until after the presidential elections in Russia and the United States is a considerable success of the Russian diplomatic services, which take only accomplished facts into account."

Concluding, Kaniewski points out that "there are also differences of opinions between the organization's institutions, which may raise doubts about NATO's credibility. The solid 'Partners for Peace' do not know, then, what they can count on tomorrow or the day after. It would be really bad if they only could count on themselves."

Warsaw RZECZPOSPOLITA in Polish carried on page seven a 700-word commentary by Jan Skorzynski entitled "NATO—Russia; Playing for Time." The author notes at the beginning that "the diplomatic actions regarding NATO expansion resemble a chaotic dance. At times it even seems that its participants stay in one place, which, however, does not result from lack of skills. It is difficult to achieve two primary goals of the West's policy in the 1990's at the same time: admission of new Central European members under the protective wings of the organization on the one hand, and finding a place in the international security system for Russia on the other. The core of the problem is that Moscow's vision of the new European order differs fundamentally from the concepts of Washington and Bonn: It does not envision that the root of Central European countries is in the Western geopolitical zone."

Skorzynski notes that Central European observers differed in their evaluations of the document presented last week in Brussels; the document was often criticized, whereas "in Moscow it was assessed differently. The statements and threats which came from Moscow once again are clear evidence that Russian politicians consider the report to be an important step toward NATO's expansion. Will they yield the desired result this time as well and curb the intentions of the West?"

Paper Charges West With 'Leniency' Toward Russia

WS0910074795 Warsaw POLSKA ZBROJNA in Polish 3 Oct 95 pp 1-2

[Article by Maksymilian Berezowski: "The Lenient West; Caressing Russia to Death?"]

[FBIS Translated Text] *Pressure exerted by Russia on the West is intensifying instead of subsiding as the NATO countries continue their efforts to calm and appease Moscow. The latter, however, showers its Western partners with uninhibited threats in exchange for the decision to expand NATO.*

The long list of concessions made by the West is met with constant and stubborn demands, criticism, anger and threats voiced by Russia through the lips of its leaders, politicians, generals, and incited media. Who believes it can be caressed to death?

First, the West backed out of its own reservations, expressed recently by President Clinton, and everything seems to indicate that it will consent to certain amendments of the Conventional Forces in Europe Treaty. As a consequence, the quotas for Russia may be increased: in the south—in the Caucasus region and in the north—in the vicinity of Saint Petersburg (what are the dangers lurking there?).

As if in exchange, Moscow announced that once East European states are admitted into NATO, Russia will establish a military bloc within CIS, a Warsaw Pact in miniature of sorts (this does not seem practical, primarily due to Ukraine's reluctance).

Later, in reply to Russia's criticism, the Alliance stated in the document on NATO expansion issued in Brussels that until circumstances require otherwise NATO will give up deploying nuclear arms as well as the troops of other member states on the territories of the newly admitted countries.

Moscow retorted by quoting local military sources as saying that the Russian General Staff is developing a project of deploying nuclear missiles for its Baltic fleet and rocket launchers in the Kaliningrad oblast and in Belarus. We do know, however, that the deployment of ballistic missiles from Belarus to Russia has been suspended without waiting for NATO to expand, even though their removal is provided for by international agreements signed by both states.

This report may contain copyrighted material. Copying and dissemination is prohibited without permission of the copyright owners.

It is no secret that high-ranking U.S. officials stated on numerous occasions that cooperation with Russia would be strengthened together with the expansion of NATO and that the organization would establish "special relations" with Moscow. It was even said that the expansion of NATO would be preceded by an agreement with Russia. Is that not enough?

U.S. Secretary of State Warren Christopher has recently assured Russian Foreign Minister Andrey Kozyrev that NATO will not rush to accept new members. Chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff General John Shalikashvili, having said that the expansion of NATO is a top priority of U.S. foreign policy, went on to add that the process will never be carried out in haste. Many similar conciliatory statements were issued. THE NEW YORK TIMES had due reason to point out that Russian pressure is effective.

What is the reasoning of the highest Russian officials behind escalating this pressure? What are they counting on?

—Russian maximalists expect that the West, forced to choose between Russia or NATO expansion, will burst out crying and choose Russia.

—A new group of advocates of the Russian superpower chooses to believe that it will succeed in delaying the decision to expand NATO so that once the circumstances change the project will either be forsaken or will be blocked by Moscow as it regains power.

—Further Russian politicians estimate that by protesting NATO's East Europe policy they will be able to at least bargain concessions in other fields, thus enabling Russia to accelerate the pace of regaining imperial power.

One way or the other, the organized uproar that has been publicized on a global scale is to serve the revival of the Russian empire and clearly confirms such intentions and such preparations. The leniency—not to say naivete—of the West will not halt the tendency. On the contrary, it might help it gain momentum.

Communique Signed by Polish, Ukrainian Ministers

WS0610123795 Warsaw POLSKA ZBROJNA in Polish 6-8 Oct 95 p 1

["Poland-Ukraine; Communique Issued after Meeting of Defense Ministers"]

[FBIS Translated Text] On the basis of the "Agreement on Military Cooperation" that they concluded on 3 February 1993, the defense ministers of the Polish Republic and Ukraine:

—Express a desire to further tighten the political-military relations between both states in the spirit of respecting their sovereignty.

—Commit themselves to taking joint actions to ensure stability and security in East and Central Europe.

The defense ministers of the Polish Republic and Ukraine decided that they would achieve the aforementioned goals by:

- Holding regular consultations related to regional security.
- Organizing joint military undertakings, both bilateral ones and those envisioned in the Partnership for Peace program; other partners in the region will be invited to take part in those undertakings.
- Embarking in the near future on work to set up a joint Polish-Ukrainian military unit, whose task will be to take part in peacekeeping operations under the auspices of international institutions.
- Intensifying cooperation among their military units.
- Expanding cooperation in the area of cadre training and education.
- Considerably developing military-technological cooperation.

The defense ministers of the Polish Republic and Ukraine express utmost satisfaction at the course of the talks and acknowledge the need to continue them. Therefore, they decided to hold consultations on this level every six months. They will be held alternately in both countries.

[signed] Zbigniew Wojciech Okonski, Minister of National Defense of the Polish Republic

[signed] Valeriy Mikolayevich Shmarov, Minister of Defense of Ukraine

Walesa Positively Assesses First Term in Office

LD0810200995 Warsaw Polskie Radio First Program Network in Polish 1700 GMT 8 Oct 95

[FBIS Translated Text] The annual ecumenical festival was held at St. Bridget's basilica in Gdansk today, precisely on the 25th anniversary of the resumption of the church activity in that parish. President Lech Walesa and Yuriy Kashlev, the Russian ambassador to Poland, took part.

President Lech Walesa positively assessed his first term in office and said that he had always focused on Poland's well-being and not his own interests. President Walesa said during the ceremonies that only those who had proved themselves in their activity

This report may contain copyrighted material. Copying and dissemination is prohibited without permission of the copyright owners.

so far, those who had proved their effectiveness and sense of responsibility, and people with high moral qualifications, should be competing for the highest post in the state. The president expressed the hope that the nation will make the correct choice, preserve common sense, and be able to tell the difference between truth and lies.

President Walesa added that he had made mistakes, but he explained that the task he had taken upon himself was enormous.

[Begin Walesa recording] I did what was my duty and I can be held responsible only for that. However, I cannot be held responsible for others. I cannot be blamed for other people's faults and negligence. It is not the president who should be reforming the health service, education, or the social security system. These are the responsibilities of the government and the parliament.

So, I ask those whose responsibility it is, what they have done to improve our health service to make it less neglected, and what they have done for education and schools to help them with their troubles? I would like to know why up until now the social security system has not been reformed? I am also asking the lawyers: Why is the law still full of loopholes and lagging behind reality? I am asking the economists: Why are economic changes so slow? I am asking the politicians: Where are their decisions aimed at the good of the entire country? [end recording]

In his homily at the Gdansk St. Bridget's basilica, Archbishop Tadeusz Goclowski called on Poles not to pass their homeland into the hands of those who not only had agreed to be servants of a foreign superpower, but also wanted to take away, or even kill, the nation's soul by atheism. According to the archbishop, these politicians are not worried about the country's honor, they are disregarding the agreement with the Vatican, which is still awaiting ratification, ignoring the fact that this will put in order the relations between the state and the believers' community.

Presidential Candidate Waltz Presents Program

LD1010103195

[FBIS Editorial Report] Warsaw Polskie Radio First Program Network in Polish at 0615 GMT 10 October carries a 17-minute interview with presidential candidate Hanna Gronkiewicz-Waltz, currently president of the National Polish Bank (NBP), by an unidentified correspondent. Reception is poor.

The interview is preceded by a brief biography and profile of the candidate. Following this, Gronkiewicz-Waltz explains her motivation for becoming a contender for the presidential office.

The interviewer asks about her political support, which is based on a number of right-wing parties outside parliament. Gronkiewicz-Waltz agrees that they are dispersed and that more coherence is needed in this area.

Gronkiewicz-Waltz is asked to comment on whether she is not "too caring" as a politician:

[Correspondent] "At your rallies you have repeated many times that you want to look after Polish families, pensioners, and annuity holders, education, etc, etc. Isn't this too much all at once? Aren't you too caring?"

[Gronkiewicz-Waltz] "I am not too caring. This is a challenge based on concern. Our common concern should be Poland—not that I will take care of Poland, but that we will take care of Poland jointly, also society should do this..."

She then describes her plans to reform the social security system in Poland and ideas concerning taxes, inflation, and unemployment:

[Correspondent] "At election meetings you have been promising the reduction in taxes, curbing inflation, getting rid of unemployment—or at least curbing it, lowering prices, etc. Many economists representing various political options claim these objectives are mutually exclusive and that they should be treated as so-called electoral sausage."

[Gronkiewicz-Waltz] "No, they are absolutely coherent and I will try to describe this. Inflation now stands at over 20 percent and will remain at around 20 percent. We envisage that next year inflation should come to between 19 to 20 percent. This situation is caused by the lack of social security reform. Even if the prices do not rise, the budget deficit and the way it is financed, which results in increased inflation—as it is partly financed by the Central Bank and the banking system—constitutes a competing factor for the economy and the credits going to the economy. The lack of reform is causing permanent inflation.

"As long as there is no reform, one cannot reduce taxes, as this will result in a budget gap and deficit. If we carry out two fundamental structural reforms: If we complete the privatization process through mass enfranchisement of society and if we carry out the reform of the social security system, we will be able to resolve the problem of the inflationary vicious circle, the problem of 20 percent inflation..."

Gronkiewicz-Waltz describes various privatization solutions in other postcommunist countries and criticizes the present government's measures in this area.

This report may contain copyrighted material. Copying and dissemination is prohibited without permission of the copyright owners.

This is followed by a brief comment on Gronkiewicz-Waltz's hopes regarding the unification of the right-wing movement in Poland. She says she is prepared to welcome parties and groupings—also the Solidarity trade union—which are not currently supporting her in order to eliminate threats coming from the postcommunist camp:

[Correspondent] "One says that the fewer true communists there are in Poland, the more volunteers there are to fight against them and eliminate them from the political scene. Also you have announced the intention to halt threats coming from the postcommunist camp. How do you intend to achieve this?"

[Gronkiewicz-Waltz] "Primarily by winning the elections and by forming a bloc that will take over power in parliament, thus halting the march of recommunization. Recommunization is manifested in various ways. We can start with the protection given to MPs by their postcommunist colleagues which prevents them from losing their parliamentary immunity. Prosecutors who have been negatively vetted, those who were at the disposal [of the communist government], are being reinstated. Recommunization comes in various forms. I want to oppose it."

Gronkiewicz-Waltz presents various options on what might happen to the present parliament, if she wins the elections.

Finally, she says she favors revealing the incomes and assets of all the presidential candidates. Her income currently stands at 85 million zloty gross; that is, it is on a par with earnings received by the deputy prime minister.

Korwin-Mikke Elaborates on Platform at Convention

WS0910154795 Warsaw RZECZPOSPOLITA in Polish 9 Oct 95 p 2

[Article by "M.D.Z.": "Janusz Korwin-Mikke's Campaign Convention: To Rob Moderately"]

[FBIS Translated Excerpt] *Janusz Korwin-Mikke and Wladyslaw Komar led a march of the Union for Real Politics [UPR] through the streets of Warsaw on Saturday. The UPR candidate held a campaign convention in the capital.*

"I am running in the elections in order to stage a counterrevolution in Poland," Janusz Korwin-Mikke announced. He reminded listeners that "a slave in Rome had a right to keep 10 percent of what he earned outside the home, in the United States—97 percent, while Poles keep only 17 percent." "I will fight so that we can become free citizens again," said the UPR chairman. His supporters gathered at the "Atlantic" cinema gave him a standing ovation and sang "May He Live 100 Years."

To Do Away With the Manger

"The parties hope that they will take their turns at the manger. And we want to do away with the manger," Korwin shouted. He referred to the approaching vote as the "election for the head of the Robin Hood gang that robs the citizens." "We want to go back to the times when citizens were not robbed or robbed moderately," said the UPR chairman.

The UPR candidate supports retaining the death penalty. "The death penalty was first abolished in the United States, but 38 states have reinstated it already. We should learn from mistakes, but for God's sake, it is best when they are the mistakes of others," appealed Korwin-Mikke.

Forged Signatures

At a press conference the chairman of UPR said that at least three presidential candidates forged signatures on their lists. He refused to disclose their names but stressed he expects the prosecutor's office to take proper action. "I would be extremely disheartened to share a bench with people who should be sitting in jail," said Korwin. He claims the electoral law must be amended. The UPR chairman suggests candidates be required to collect 800 signatures of support from councillors and pay a deposit of 2 billion old zlotys which would not be redeemable if the candidate gathered less than 2 percent of votes. [passage omitted]

Candidate Bubel Denies Anti-Semitism Charge

LD0610212995 Warsaw Polskie Radio First Program Network in Polish 1800 GMT 6 Oct 95

[FBIS Translated Text] The provincial prosecutor's office in Warsaw is checking whether the booklet "Jewish Jokes," published by the Forum against Illegality [Forum walki z bezprawiem], the party of presidential candidate Leszek Bubel, is anti-Semitic. Checks preceding the possible initiation of preparatory proceedings are being carried out. Presidential candidate Leszek Bubel told us that he does not agree with the accusations that the publication is anti-Semitic and that his conscious aim was to provoke a debate about anti-Semitism and anti-Polonism:

[Begin Bubel recording] There are indeed several jokes bordering on black humor, but not anti-Semitic. There is also, on the other hand, a brief explanation of why we have done this. Well, Jewish organizations throughout the whole world, supported by the governments of the

This report may contain copyrighted material. Copying and dissemination is prohibited without permission of the copyright owners.

United States or of Israel, state that it was Poles who murdered Jews in the camps during the Second World War; that the Holocaust would not have succeeded without the help of Poles. What's more, Mr. Michnik publishes lying reports in his paper [GAZETA WYBORCZA] that it was the Home Army that murdered Jews in the Warsaw Uprising; and this is our response. It is a conscious provocation, in order to bring out this topic, these discussions; and above all, to clear up these matters, how it really was, and finish the thing off, and shut the gobs of all those people who are making political capital out of anti-Semitism and anti-Polonism. [end recording]

Supreme Court Refuses To Register Tejkowski

LD0610171595 Warsaw PAP in Polish 1503 GMT 6 Oct 95

[FBIS Translated Text] Warsaw, 6 Oct—The Supreme Court decided on Friday to reject the appeal by the plenipotentiary of Boleslaw Tejkowski's Electoral Committee against the decision of the State Electoral Committee [PKW] refusing to register this candidacy. This means that there will in the end be 17 candidates seeking the presidency.

The announcement by the State Electoral Commission of the official list of candidates may be expected at the start of next week. The election campaign on public radio and television will be able to commence two days later.

The PKW refused to register Tejkowski since his committee had not appended at least 100,000 correct signatures to the application. The PKW established that of the 118,000 signatures presented by his Electoral Committee, 39,000 were photocopies. Of the rest, 20,000 exhibited various faults. In effect, the PKW acknowledged only around 59,000 correct signatures. The determination of this was confirmed by the Supreme Court, which on Friday carried out a viewing of the list of signatures in the presence of a representative of the PKW and Tejkowski's plenipotentiary. The fact of the existence of photocopies was confirmed at the hearing by Tejkowski's plenipotentiary, Jan Jedryk, who "expressed amazement" that they had found their way to the PKW.

In the appeal, Tejkowski's plenipotentiary claimed that the refusal of registration was associated with the fact that Tejkowski is the only one of the candidates for president who is against NATO. The Supreme Court stressed in the justification to the verdict, however, that it had not taken the political aspect of this matter into account at all.

This report may contain copyrighted material. Copying and dissemination is prohibited without permission of the copyright owners.

Kucan on Bosnia Cease-Fire, EU Membership

LD0910183595 Budapest Kossuth Radio Network in Hungarian 1150 GMT 9 Oct 95

[Report on interview with Slovenian President Milan Kucan by correspondent Julia Szamado in Ljubljana; date not given; Kucan speaks in Serbo-Croatian fading into Hungarian report]

[FBIS Translated Text] There are 12 hours and six minutes left before the cease-fire agreement in Bosnia becomes effective. The question is whether the weapons will fall silent. Let us now listen to Slovenian President Milan Kucan, a politician close to the region and not really an outsider, who is speaking about the war and the most important condition for the settlement, as well as his country's current problems.

As a member of a group of Hungarian correspondents in Ljubljana, Julia Szamado had an opportunity to ask the Slovenian president:

[Szamado] How do you see the Bosnian settlement process, the cease-fire that is just taking shape. This was the first question.

[Kucan] I highly appreciate diplomacy, for anything is better than war, Kucan started his answer. However, I do it with a certain worry, he added. He [Kucan] does not know whether there has been any move away from war, because the starting point is wrong. There is a talk of a civil war in Bosnia-Herzegovina and not an aggression, and if it is not an aggression, there can be no aggressor either, he said. Contrary to this, reality is entirely different from this. What is raging in Bosnia is not a civil war, for the fighting was not started by the Bosnian Serbs, Croats, or Muslims. They cannot end them either—Kucan said, recalling that the future depends on Belgrade's intentions.

Even the United States has approved the Serbs taking part in the peace talks practically in one group. Therefore, Serbian President Milosevic will again have a key role among those who represent the Krajina and Bosnian Serbs and Serbia, the Slovenian president added. As the Slovenian president says, by doing this it has been approved that Milosevic is the king of Serb kings, that is to say, he speaks on behalf of all Serbs.

According to the Slovenian president, a key question also is whether, in line with the basic principles declared earlier, there is a plan to keep Bosnia-Herzegovina as a united, sovereign state. It is also a question to what extent the great powers are interested in this and, following the third year of the war, how realistic it is.

According to Kucan, compared to the model of the Croats' and Muslims' Bosnian federation and its unification with Croatia and [on the other hand] the confederation of the Bosnian Serbs with Serbia, the carving up of Bosnia-Herzegovina, unfortunately, is increasingly on the agenda. In order to be able to see clearly on this issue there also is a need for the cease-fire and for interests and realities to be clearly presented at the talks, he said.

[Szamado] It was the war that led to the loss of your markets. We asked the president what chances Slovenia has for recovering.

[Kucan] The country's output has slumped by 60 percent. The annual level of inflation grew to several hundreds. We held democratic elections in 1992 and the economy has found itself again during these years. Following an 18 percent increase in prices last year we expect inflation to be under 10 percent this year. Unemployment is still around 13 percent but gross domestic product is growing dynamically by 3 to 5 percent. The country would like to join the European Union.

We have not signed the agreement on the associate membership yet because Italy now wants properties by way of compensation, although an interstate agreement had been made on financial recompense for former Italian assets in the former Yugoslavia. We cannot come to agreement on this, he said.

According to the Slovenian president, this can prevent the conclusion of a basic agreement with the EU. He said: We do not expect anyone to take a stance in this debate. We and Italy have a common political responsibility. We undertook to pay $100 million instead of the former Yugoslavia by way of compensation for former Italian assets. Italy now wants compensation in kind, that is, it wants to get back the properties.

There will be elections in both countries. Responsibility and interests are alike here but the question has been overpoliticized. Slovenia did not say it would not pay. We cannot accept however that Italy now wants to get back the properties.

[Szamado] President, do you think it is possible that an agreement can be made before the elections and the accord with the EU on the associate membership—which is so important for you—can be signed?

[Kucan] I expect to sign the EU accord on the associate membership as soon as we make an agreement with the Italians. The problem is that we cannot present our arguments to the EU together and simultaneously with the Italians.

[Szamado] Why is it important for you to develop good political and economic relations with Hungary?

This report may contain copyrighted material. Copying and dissemination is prohibited without permission of the copyright owners.

[Kucan] Our minorities live there. We want to be on good terms with our neighbors and there are a number of economic reasons for this. The road to the east leads through Hungary when we are seeking markets. The Central European countries' free trade association, CEFTA—which we will join in 1996—provides an opportunity for economic growth. We have identical ideas with Hungary on joining the EU. Another reason for cooperation is that as a small country we have to be open in every economic and political issue.

Perry, Kacin Comment on 'Bilateral Cooperation'

AU0910123295 Ljubljana SLOVENSKA VOJSKA in Slovene 22 Sep 95 pp 4-7

[Report by Bojan Kuntaric: "Slovenia Among First Candidates for NATO Membership"]

[FBIS Translated Text] At the invitation of the Defense Minister Jelko Kacin, U.S. Defense Secretary Dr. William Perry and his wife paid a two-day official visit to Slovenia at the end of last week.

It was very much a working visit that the high-level guest from the United States paid to our country. In addition to comprehensive talks with his host, Perry held talks with President Milan Kucan, Prime Minister Dr. Janez Drnovsek, Foreign Minister Zoran Thaler, and members of the parliamentary defense and foreign affairs committees. A part of the U.S. delegation visited Cerkno, Franja partisan hospital, and the Postojna cave. Dr. William Perry also met with Ljubljana Mayor Dr. Dimitrij Rupel. Apart from this, the U.S. delegation attended Slovene Army mountain unit maneuvers in Bohinjska Bela, which demonstrated some of its skills at the rock face to Dr. William Perry and his aides. The guest from the United States also visited the Isonzo Front Museum in Kobarid. During the flight from Bohinjska Bela to Kobarid he also looked at the cow exhibition in Bohinj and the march of 150 women on Mt. Triglav from the air.

Ministers William Perry and Jelko Kacin outlined the contents of the talks at two news conferences.

At the Saturday news conference Dr. William Perry, among other things, emphasized that this was his first but hopefully not last visit to Slovenia and then continued: "We met with Mr. Kacin in Washington in March. A Slovene Army unit took part in the Cooperative Nugget maneuver in Louisiana in the United States this summer. The enthusiasm and the professional attitude of your soldiers at the maneuver made a great impression on me."

"Slovenia is the first stop on my brief tour of the Central European countries, during which I will also visit Slovakia, the Czech Republic, and Hungary. In our opinion, peace and stability in this region are extremely important for security in the whole of Europe. I have been following events, that is, the transition in central Europe for four or five years. I am following the democratic changes of authority and the transformation of the economy. In my opinion nobody has come as far as Slovenia."

The U.S. Defense Secretary also said that his country would soon send a resident military attache with additional staff to Ljubljana and that Slovenia would receive $1 million aid for training within the Partnership for Peace program. He also commented on the arms embargo for Slovenia and emphasized that the embargo was unjust and that the United States would continue to strive for it to be lifted in the future. According to Dr. William Perry this could happen even this year.

Minister Jelko Kacin said at the news conference: "We are very pleased with Mr. Perry's visit to Slovenia and I thank him for responding to my invitation so quickly and for finding time and a slot for a visit to Slovenia despite a very busy schedule this year. We especially appreciate the fact that he began his European tour in Slovenia. Not only is this proof of our excellent bilateral cooperation in the defense sphere but we hope and wish that this will expand equally qualitatively to other spheres, primarily the economy. We are pleased with the active U.S. assistance in the Partnership for Peace plan, which will help us adjust to the standards of the NATO alliance and the West. For the first time a Slovene has started studying at the aviation academy in Colorado Springs, and will remain there for four years. The first senior Slovene officer commenced his further education at the War College, the commanding staff school, this year. For the first time in our bilateral relations we sent a military attache to Washington this March. Shortly, we expect the arrival of a resident U.S. military attache with additional staff to Slovenia. We are extremely satisfied with the cooperation so far. Today we also discussed U.S. assistance in the realization of programs for the achievement of NATO standards. This is a program that will allow as many of our officers as possible to train for active cooperation with NATO in the shortest possible time. For that reason an increasingly greater portion of the training programs will take place here, in the Republic of Slovenia, so that following the initial training our officers could attend the courses and the programs organized outside our country. Especially important is the assistance in the work of the military language institute in the Ministry of Defense of the Republic of Slovenia. At the same time, we proposed to the U.S. side—I believe that we will reach an agreement shortly—the participation

This report may contain copyrighted material. Copying and dissemination is prohibited without permission of the copyright owners.

of the U.S. Army and the U.S. field hospital at the Potres [Earthquake] drill to be organized in Ljubljana next year. We are also negotiating on logistical support and forms of cooperation in case of natural and other disasters."

"At the same time we appreciate greatly U.S. goodwill in the interpretation of the arms embargo, which allows us to use U.S. helicopters for dual purposes at present, despite the arms embargo, not only for the transport of units by air but also for protection, rescue, and other operations. We appreciate very much the opportunity to purchase the second long-range radar, which will help increase the safety of air traffic over Slovenia. This is a radar that could in the future be used for military purposes, however, it contributes toward greater security in Slovene air space.

"It is also my duty to thank Minister Perry for everything that our team experienced at the maneuvers in Louisiana, when Slovenia as one of the 14 signatories of the Partnership for Peace had an outstanding opportunity to realistically assess the combat readiness of its soldiers and officers. We have direct confirmation that we performed well. This is a tremendous encouragement to the development of the Slovene Army, primarily, in boosting its levels of expertise and self-confidence.

"For that reason we will invest considerably greater effort in the strengthening of the Slovene Army General Staff and its training in the future, to assume a more active, expert, and independent role in the cooperation with other countries within the NATO alliance. We raised all sorts of issues and always encountered understanding. I believe that we made a big step forward to deepen out mutual cooperation in the defense sphere."

The second brief contact with the reporters was by Ministers Perry and Kacin at the Brnik airport directly prior to the departure of the U.S. delegation from Slovenia.

The U.S. Defense Secretary assessed the visit of the U.S. delegation as follows: "I would take this opportunity to thank my host Mr. Kacin for a visit that was not only productive but provided an opportunity to see your beautiful country. Four years since the proclamation of its independence Slovenia has made very great progress. This can be seen from the fact that democracy was established, that it made progress toward a market economy, and that the civilian authorities took control over the army. Precisely for this reason Slovenia is, in my opinion, a model and a pilot country among the Central European countries and a very serious candidate for cooperation in economic and security integration on the old continent. We discussed this integration with Mr. Kacin and we also discussed all the efforts linked to Slovene membership in the Partnership for Peace and Slovenia's future possibilities, also possibilities for NATO membership. The majority of our talks focused on what could be done here and now to further promote cooperation between Slovenia and the United States in the defense sphere. I told the minister that we will send a military attache to Ljubljana in the next few months. These are very important steps toward an even greater and stronger bilateral cooperation between the United States and Slovenia. They are also important steps that will help Slovenia modernize its defense system. We also proposed raising funds for assistance in this department from this year's $125,000 to $300,000 next year. We proposed that within the framework of the so-called Warsaw Initiative $1 million be spent within the Partnership for Peace program on learning English. With Minister Kacin we discussed possibilities for cooperation in various military drills to take place in Slovenia over the next 12 months. We touched upon the possibility of the U.S. armed forces participating in one of these drills. All these steps prove the United States' determination to help Slovenia strengthen security and stability in this part of central Europe."

Minister Jelko Kacin said in his statement: "We are very pleased about your visit, Mr. Perry, and that of your aides. This was not merely an opportunity for the two of us to exchange views on issues of regional security and bilateral cooperation but it also created extremely good possibilities for our aides to see a variety of forms of cooperation in these two days. This was not merely an exchange of opinion on principles but involved concrete forms of cooperation and agreements that could be realized in a very short time. The Republic of Slovenia and the Defense Ministry will see to it that the Slovene Army personnel, in particular, learns about the standards that prevail in NATO as quickly as possible. This, of course, demands cadre reinforcement, primarily at the level of decisionmaking and management of development projects. I am especially happy that this was not merely an exchange of opinions in the defense sphere but that the visit by Mr. Perry was also an opportunity for him to meet with other members of the Slovene government, with the president of the state, members of the parliament, and the Ljubljana mayor."

"In this way he gained a wholly correct picture of the successes to date of the Republic of Slovenia. This was our third meeting this year; the progress in the meetings [as published] and we would like to maintain the present pace of meetings in the future, thus, contributing to stabilization in this part of Europe and simultaneously to mutual development in advancing Slovenia's defense system."

This report may contain copyrighted material. Copying and dissemination is prohibited without permission of the copyright owners.

Of particular importance for us were the questions posed to Dr. William Perry by two U.S. reporters. The first question was: "Until recently Poland, the Czech Republic, and Hungary were the main candidates for NATO membership. Will you add Slovenia to these after this meeting?" Dr. Perry briefly replied: "Yes!" The reporter then asked quickly: "Why?"

Dr. Perry replied: "There are certain standards and criteria that apply for NATO membership. The most important of these are the establishment of democracy, the market economy, civilian supervision over the army, and compatibility of the system with other member states. Slovenia has made tremendous progress regarding these, especially in comparison with the aforementioned countries, and is making rapid progress as regards this last one, too."

The other reporter asked the U.S. defense secretary: "Does the proximity of Slovenia to the conflict in Bosnia-Herzegovina influence its chances of membership? Does it help or work against it?"

"I believe that this proximity in no way influences Slovenia's integration with NATO. I think, however, that when a serious decision on this is made, the conflict in Bosnia-Herzegovina will already be over," William Perry replied.

Minister Kacin added to this: "Slovenia was not and will not be involved in the conflict in Bosnia-Herzegovina. The biggest contribution toward the prevention of proliferation of the conflict was our decision for independence, by which we prevented any citizen of our republic as a civilian, a military person, or an economic entity from taking part in the conflict in Bosnia-Herzegovina. Slovenia plans to proceed in this way in the future and we will do everything we can to contribute toward the stability of this region and wider Europe, of course. The peace in Bosnia was, is, and will remain the strategic interest in the future. If there is peace in Bosnia, the reputation of our country will also be considerably greater than it is at present. We are looking forward to this moment and at the same time hail the efforts that the United States and Secretary William Perry, personally, are investing in this, to achieve a lasting peace in the region."

After this, the U.S. delegation departed for Slovakia, the second stop in its European tour.

This report may contain copyrighted material. Copying and dissemination is prohibited without permission of the copyright owners.

Federal

Kontic Calls Cease-Fire Accord 'Decisive Step'

LD0910143395 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1318 GMT 9 Oct 95

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Belgrade, Oct 9 (TANJUG)—Prime Minister of the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia (FRY) Radoje Kontic assessed on Monday that the ceasefire accord in Bosnia, to take effect on Tuesday, represents a decisive step toward the settlement of the crisis and durable peace in all of the former Yugoslavia.

Talking to the newly arrived Romanian charge d'affaires to the FRY, Panaid Lefter, Kontic pointed to the decisive contribution of the FRY to the peace process and assessed that the ceasefire in the former Yugoslav Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina would inevitably lead to the lifting of sanctions by the international community against the FRY.

The federal Secretariat of Information said Lefter conveyed to Kontic a personal message and greetings from the president of the Government of Romania, Nicolae Vacaroiu, who will soon pay an official visit to the FRY.

Belgrade Wants Full Interpol Membership Returned

LD0810111495 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1054 GMT 8 Oct 95

["Pool" item]

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Beijing, Oct. 8 (TANJUG)—The Federal Republic of Yugoslavia on Sunday in Beijing called on the international anti-corruption conference to support its request for the return of its full membership in Interpol.

Deputy Yugoslav Interior Minister Milisav Markovic informed the conference, attended by more than 90 interior and justice ministers, or their deputies, about the situation in Yugoslavia caused by the imposition of the international sanctions three-and-a-half years ago and the suspension of its membership in Interpol.

Although Interpol severed all cooperation with Yugoslav organizations and shut off telecommunication links to the Yugoslav police, Yugoslavia has continued cooperation with all countries, but on a bilateral basis.

Markovic said that the blockade, the proximity of the war regions, the huge influx of refugees and a shortage of goods, have resulted in the rise of all forms of illegal and criminal activities in Yugoslavia.

However, efficiency and professionalism have, despite the growing number of crimes committed, maintained the percentage of solved cases at the previous levels, Markovic said.

Markovic said that Yugoslavia's more efficient and bigger contribution to combating organized international crime and corruption can be expected only if the unjust decisions are revoked and Yugoslavia returned its full membership in Interpol and other international organizations.

Seselj on U.S. 'Deception' To Buy Muslims Time

LD0610202795 Belgrade SRNA in Serbo-Croatian 1930 GMT 6 Oct 95

[FBIS Translated Text] Belgrade, 6 Oct (SRNA)—Vojislav Seselj, chairman of the Serbian Radical Party [SRS], said today that the signing of the cease-fire agreement in former Bosnia-Herzegovina "is yet another American deception."

Seselj told SRNA that "the United States only wants to ensure a break for the Muslims, so they can obtain more weapons and train and prepare for a fresh offensive against the Serb people."

"The SRS has in principle always advocated a just peace in former Bosnia-Herzegovina, but considering earlier experiences with the Americans, it is clear that this is a deception which this time they are not trying to hide," the Serb Radicals' leader explained.

He recalled that the United States has already supplied weapons to and trained the Croatian army, and U.S. Defense Secretary William Perry has hinted that his officers will train the Muslims, too.

"The Serbs must not allow any deal stationing NATO forces on the territory of the [Bosnian] Serb Republic," Seselj said in conclusion.

Seselj Opposes NATO Troops in Bosnia

LD0910142595 Belgrade SRNA in Serbo-Croatian 1340 GMT 9 Oct 95

[FBIS Translated Text] Belgrade, 9 Oct [SRNA]—Vojislav Seselj, chairman of the Serbian Radical Party [SRS], told SRNA today that the [Bosnian] Serb Republic should under no circumstances allow the deployment of NATO troops on its territory.

Commenting on the NATO defense ministers' meeting in the American town of Williamsburg, at which they concluded that a peace agreement will be signed in a month's time and that around 40-50,000 NATO troops will be deployed in former Bosnia-Herzegovina, Seselj said that their arrival would mean the occupation of the Serb Republic.

"The Serbs should demand that none of the countries that bombed the Serb Republic should send its soldiers to join the forces which are to maintain peace in

This report may contain copyrighted material. Copying and dissemination is prohibited without permission of the copyright owners.

former Bosnia-Herzegovina," the Serb Radicals' leader stressed.

He believes that if NATO forces are sent to the Serb Republic—which was discussed by U.S. Defense Secretary William Perry and his Russian counterpart Pavel Grachev—the Serb people in the Serb Republic will "lose everything."

The SRS chairman recalled Perry's statement that American military experts will train Muslims, which is, Seselj said in conclusion, "the second phase of the war, in which the Serbs will be repulsed across the Drina River."

Serbia

Milosevic, EU's Bildt on Bosnia Peace Process

LD0910211295 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 2050 GMT 9 Oct 95

[FBIS Translated Text] Belgrade, 9 Oct (TANJUG)—Serbian President Slobodan Milosevic received Carl Bildt, a cochairman of the international conference [on former Yugoslavia], this evening.

They discussed ways to reach peace in Bosnia-Herzegovina by stimulating the peace process. It was concluded that the Geneva and New York agreements, as well as the agreement on the cessation of hostilities in Bosnia-Herzegovina, represent the main elements of the definitive peace agreement, which will pave the way for cessation of hostilities in Bosnia-Herzegovina to evolve into the final peace.

In this context, expectations were expressed that the peace package for Bosnia-Herzegovina will be successfully completed, as well as that the current level of preparations for the international peace conference will be sustained.

Federal Foreign Minister Milan Milutinovic took part in the talks.

'Technical Problems' Cited

LD0910223695 Belgrade TANJUG in English 2225 GMT 9 Oct 95

["Pool" item]

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Belgrade, Oct 9 (TANJUG)—European Union envoy to former Yugoslavia Carl Bildt said late on Monday [9 October] that his meeting with Serbian President Slobodan Milosevic in Belgrade earlier in the evening had been useful.

Speaking to reporters after the meeting, Bildt said that he had discussed with Milosevic preparations for a peace conference on Bosnia, scheduled to be held in Washington on Oct. 31.

Bildt explained that there were still some technical problems about bringing gas and electricity to Sarajevo, but expected that they should be solved shortly.

He stressed that the Russian Government was determined to honour its undertaking and deliver the gas.

The Bosnian Muslims are making the emplacement of the agreed ceasefire, set for 0001 local time on Oct. 10, conditional on the delivery of gas and electricity to Sarajevo.

Bildt travels to Great Britain on Tuesday, to meet with Prime Minister John Major and Foreign Minister Malcolm Rifkind.

Belgrade Peace Role Warrants End to Sanctions

AU0810202795 Belgrade RTB Television Network in Serbo-Croatian 1830 GMT 8 Oct 95

[Commentary by Tatjana Lenard]

[FBIS Translated Text] The cease-fire agreement in Bosnia is a step of crucial importance for the final peace in the territory of the former Yugoslavia. That is how world officials and the media assess a document that was unveiled by the U.S. President personally in Washington three days ago. On that occasion Bill Clinton announced the continuation of the peace talks of the warring and interested sides at the highest level, to be held first in the United States while the concluding ceremony—the peace conference—is supposed to take place in Paris.

The cease-fire agreement in Bosnia itself is primarily a result of several days of delicate and thorough talks by U.S. Deputy Secretary of State Richard Holbrooke and Serbian President Milosevic, who on the basis of a preliminary agreement championed the interests of the Serbs in Bosnia. On the night of 3-4 October, the Serbian president signed the cease-fire agreement as a guarantor and a witness and secured the signatures of the Bosnian Serb leadership on it. The only thing left to Holbrooke afterward was to convince Alija Izetbegovic [president of Bosnia-Herzegovina Presidency] to accept the cease-fire in Sarajevo. A promise by Russian President Yeltsin that Sarajevo would immediately receive Russian gas was decisive for Izetbegovic's signature in the name of the Muslim-Croatian Federation. The good news from Bosnia was a green light for Clinton's media appearance at the White House.

The cease-fire agreement is expected to become effective on Tuesday [10 October], a minute after midnight and should last for 60 days, that is, until the completion of the peace talks and the conference. The document binds the warring sides to end all combat activities throughout Bosnia, exchange prisoners, facilitate the return of refugees, and open communications.

This report may contain copyrighted material. Copying and dissemination is prohibited without permission of the copyright owners.

There have been numerous cease-fire agreements so far; however, they have had little effect. So what guarantees that this agreement in particular will be observed? First of all, it is widely known that a war lasts as long as the warring sides and their mentors do not accomplish their objectives. The Serbs in Bosnia won what they had gone to war for three years ago. In Geneva and New York they were recognized as an equal entity that would decide its fate by itself. The Muslims and the Croats acquired their territorially rounded-up chunk of Bosnia, true enough, with NATO's assistance; however, they were clearly told that Washington would no longer tolerate new appetites. It is said that a stable peace in Bosnia is a powerful trump card for President Clinton in the electoral campaign but only if the peace is realized before the end of the year. Until then U.S. voters must be convinced that their President will not bet more than the participation of the U.S. troops in a multinational peace preservation corps on the Bosnian roulette and that in return he will win lucrative jobs for U.S. companies in the reconstruction of the country.

That the future and the revival of the former Yugoslavia rather than the horror of war have become the main thing was also confirmed by the expanded Contact Group meeting in Rome in which our Foreign Minister Milan Milutinovic also took part. The authority of the personalities and countries that backed the cease-fire agreement also guarantees its successful realization, which was not the case with earlier similar arrangements. However, what is undisputable and recognized all over the world now is that without FRY and Serbian President Slobodan Milosevic it would be hard to achieve such progress in the peace process. The creative role of the Serbian president and the principled stand on equal treatment of all warring sides helped overcome many negotiating deadlocks. The acceptance of all constructive peace initiatives, the condemnation of the war option which caused enormous human suffering and material devastation, and the assistance in the rapprochement of the conflicting stances and interests have promoted Belgrade into a sincere and consistent champion of peace. For that reason Russian President Yeltsin is justified in insisting again on immediate lifting of the sanctions imposed on Yugoslavia.

Politicians, Parties Welcome Cease-Fire Accord

AU0610190395

[FBIS Editorial Report] Belgrade Radio Beograd Network in Serbo-Croatian at 1400 GMT on 6 October carries in its regular 60-minute newscast statements by some prominent politicians and several reports on different political parties' reaction to the cease-fire agreement reached in Bosnia-Herzegovina on 5 October.

According to Milomir Minic, secretary general of the Socialist Party of Serbia [SPS], "the SPS welcomes the latest agreement on ending hostilities because it represents one of the best guarantees for the peace process to enter the final stage."

Goran Percevic, vice president of the SPS Main Committee, says that "the news that the agreement on a cease-fire in the former Bosnia-Herzegovina has been reached indeed represents the end of a very important stage in the peace process and offers reasons for expectations and hopes that the forthcoming peace conference will finally bring about the long-awaited peace and the lifting of the sanctions on the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia.

"I would like to stress, in particular, the fact that the signature by Serbian President Milosevic to this agreement, which was given as a guarantee and was the first signature, represents and shows symbolically the decisive role that was played by our country and President Milosevic in the denouement of the crisis—that is, giving priority to the peace option and finding a peaceful solution."

Concluding his statement, Percevic says that "after the conclusion of the agreement on the cease-fire, which is creating a completely new atmosphere for negotiations, a better atmosphere, we are entering the third stage that should give answers to the questions of territorial division within the ratio already given and on the basis of the criteria already agreed."

According to a studio announcer-read report, Montenegrin Prime Minister Milo Djukanovic told journalists that the "agreement reached yesterday is encouraging, and I think that this important step should be supported. It is very important that this time all relevant players of the international community were included in the realization of the peace plan in Bosnia. If one is to judge it by the intensity with which they were breaking the resistance of some warring parties, then one can say that all members of the international community support the plan sincerely and decisively, Milo Djukanovic said. This is also confirmed by the fact that the United States is directly involved in the realization of the peace plan, which President Clinton spoke about himself. The failure of the peace plan would at the same time represent the failure of those who directly took part in its preparation and realization, the Montenegrin prime minister said."

In his recorded statement for Belgrade Radio, Vuk Draskovic, leader of the Serbian Renewal Movement, says that "the agreement on ending all fighting in Bosnia-Herzegovina that should come into effect in four days will close the door of the war and open the door

This report may contain copyrighted material. Copying and dissemination is prohibited without permission of the copyright owners.

of a lasting peace. The period of dying, and this is the most important thing, will be replaced by the period of negotiations and agreements on a number of outstanding and painful issues. The most important thing is that people will no longer be losing their lives and that shells will no longer be destroying their houses."

According to the studio announcer, "Radivoje Lazarevic, president of the Executive Committee of the New Democracy, has stressed that the next important step in establishing a lasting and just peace is to start talks on demarcation between the Serb Republic and the Muslim-Croat Federation.

"Miroljub Labus, vice president of the Democratic Party, has expressed the hope that the cease-fire agreement will lead to a lasting peace in the former Bosnia-Herzegovina. He said at a news conference that the Serbs from Bosnia had expressed readiness to open the roads to Sarajevo for civilian purposes on several occasions in the past. Miroljub Labus takes the view that with the cease-fire agreement the United States has shown the power of its influence on the Muslim side, adding that it will, in fact, depend on the Americans whether the Muslims will respect the agreement.

"In its statement on the cease-fire agreement, the Citizens Alliance of Serbia is expressing the hope that all other open problems, such as the return of refugees, the lifting of the sanctions, and the economic reconstruction, will be solved in a similar manner, with prudence and compromises."

Parties Hail Prospect of Peace Settlement

LD0710175595 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1732 GMT 7 Oct 95

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Belgrade, 9:5. 7 (TANJUG)—The Socialist Party of Serbia (SPS) said on Saturday that the ceasefire agreement for Bosnia-Herzegovina was a long awaited signal for the final ending of the war in that former Yugoslav republic.

Speaking to SPS political activists in the town of Pec in Serbia's southern province of Kosovo-Metohija, SPS spokesman Ivica Dacic said that the agreement, to which the principled and consistent policy of the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia and Serbian President Slobodan Milosevic was instrumental, proved right the insistence of the SPS that the just goals of the Serb people's struggle for freedom and equality could only be achieved by pursuing a policy of peace.

'The agreement shows that the international community is firmly resolved to retain a balanced approach to all nations in Bosnia-Herzegovina,' the SPS press service quoted Dacic as saying.

Dacic also said that U.S. negotiators made a decisive influence on the Muslims to accept the ceasefire agreement.

He said he hoped that the agreement would create conditions for a successful work of a Bosnia peace conference which should bring about the final ending to the three-and-a-half-year old war.

The Serbian Renewal Movement, one of the biggest opposition parties in Serbia, hailed the agreement and said that Yugoslavia should insist on the restoration of its membership of all international organisations, regardless of whether they are political, professional or sports organisations.

Speaking to SPO supporters in Loznica in western Serbia on Saturday, SPO deputy to the Serbian Assembly Aleksandar [name indistinct] said that his party urged the repatriation of all refugees and respect for UN security council resolution guaranteeing a special status to the republic of serb krajina.

Croatia in August launched an aggression on the Republic of Serb Krajina, which the Serbs proclaimed in their ancestral lands in 1991 after Croatia's violent secession from the former Yugoslav Federation.

SPS: Cease-Fire Accord 'Decisive Step' to Peace

AU0710195595 Belgrade RTB Television Network in Serbo-Croatian 1830 GMT 7 Oct 95

[FBIS Translated Text] Ivica Dacic, spokesman of the Socialist Party of Serbia [SPS], stated in Pec that the cease-fire agreement that was achieved constituted a decisive step toward peace and a long-awaited signal of the final end of the war in the former Bosnia-Herzegovina, in which the principled and persistent policy pursued by the FRY and Serbian President Slobodan Milosevic had had the crucial role.

Dacic said that this agreement confirmed the correctness of the SPS stance that just goals of the struggle of the Serbian people for freedom and equality could only be accomplished with a policy of peace. The agreement also confirmed a firm resolve of the international community to maintain a balanced approach and the equal treatment embraced earlier for all peoples of the former Bosnia-Herzegovina, Dacic emphasized, adding that the U.S. negotiating team exerted the crucial influence on the Muslims to accept the cease-fire.

Dacic expressed hope that this agreement created conditions for the success of the peace conference which would bring a definitive end to the war.

This report may contain copyrighted material. Copying and dissemination is prohibited without permission of the copyright owners.

SPO's Draskovic Urges National Reconciliation

AU0710204795 Belgrade RTB Television Network in Serbo-Croatian 1830 GMT 7 Oct 95

[Report on a promotional rally of the Serbian Renewal Movement committee in Novi Sad on 7 October, by Olja Popovic—recorded]

[FBIS Translated Text] [Draskovic] I am convinced that the sanctions are in their last gasps!

[Popovic] The events and the projects that will ensue after the signing of a peace agreement and the end of the war and whose aim it is to include Serbia into the European trends were discussed for the first time in Rome yesterday. In this respect, the Serbian Renewal Movement [SPO] aspires for Serbia to be the bedrock and the pinnacle of the economic, political, and cultural unification in this region coupled with the uprooting of the lowly nationalistic passions.

For the sake of Serbia's future, Vuk Draskovic said at the promotional rally of the district and municipal SPO committee in Novi Sad, we favor adoption of a declaration on national reconciliation as this is the last moment to catch the train to the future.

[Draskovic] If we miss it, we are finished. Future generations will curse us for centuries to come. We are not interested in who will realize this project. Whether the Socialists want to do this by themselves or with somebody else, we support it and we support this project—the project of the fatherland's salvation. [applause]

[Popovic] At the news conference in reply to a question, Draskovic said that there could be no stable peace in the Balkans if Serbia and Montenegro remained imprisoned.

As for exiled persons, Vuk Draskovic was of the opinion that the representatives of our country should insist on two principles in future international talks: First, that exiled persons be guaranteed their return and, second, that the international factors provide guarantees that upon their return exiled persons would enjoy all rights given to them by the law.

Sandzak Council Chairman on 'Special Status'

AU0810155695 Sarajevo OSLOBODJENJE (Bosnian) in Serbo-Croatian 27 Sep 95 p 8

[Interview with Sulejman Ugljanin, the chairman of the National Council of Sandzak, by Sandra Kasalo; date and place not given: "Serbia Will Stumble Over Sandzak"]

[FBIS Translated Text] The requirements of the Muslim National Council of Sandzak for a "special status" of this region have become increasingly loud in the last months. Sulejman Ugljanin, the chairman of the National Council of Sandzak, says that the solution to the crisis in the former Yugoslavia should be based on the principles of the Hague Convention from 1991. It foresees the sovereignty of the region and vetoes any change to the internationally recognized borders. It also foresees a "special status" for those parts of the population that remain outside their home countries. On that basis, the Muslim National Council of Sandzak worked out a memorandum about the establishment of the "special status" for Sandzak as far back as June 1993.

[Kasalo] According to your memorandum, the "special status" should enable the people from Sandzak to have the protection of all rights, from political and national to property and human, within the already existing so-called Yugoslavia. Does this mean that the "stories" that Sandzak wants to merge with Bosnia-Herzegovina are far from being true?

[Ugljanin] This has never been an option. People think so because a question in the referendum of October 1991 was: "Do you support the complete political and territorial autonomy of Sandzak, with the right to merge with one of the sovereign republics?" It is this question that causes dilemmas. Our attitude is clearly defined. We do not want a merger, we want a special status. The Serbian and Montenegrin authorities keep on repeating in media, however, that Ugljanin wants secession, or that Ugljanin wants to annex Bosnia, thus confusing the people. They have even recruited several former Sandzak SDA [Party of Democratic Action] members, in order to create a confusing situation, to make it even more complicated.

[Kasalo] In a meeting with the European Union peace mediator Mr. Carl Bildt, you required a "special status" for Sandzak and its equal participation in the peace talks about the former Yugoslavia.

[Ugljanin] Yes, there is one reason for that. The Conference about Bosnia-Herzegovina will solve the global Serbian national problem and also the global Croatian national problem. Only the Muslim national problem will not be solved in this conference. We would like the problem of Sandzak to be solved and the Muslim National Council of Sandzak to be included as the interested party in the Conference. We have reasons to be very interested since the future of the Muslims outside Bosnia-Herzegovina, primarily the future of the Sandzak population, will depend on the future constitutional structure of Bosnia-Herzegovina.

[Kasalo] Has Carl Bildt accepted your requirements?

This report may contain copyrighted material. Copying and dissemination is prohibited without permission of the copyright owners.

[Ugljanin] Not really. He said that these issues had to be solved separately. The war option is being solved at the moment, the priority is to stop the war, and we have decided to pursue a peaceful policy. Bildt said that these arrangements would be made once the war was over.

[Kasalo] You required that Sandzak should have "special links" with Bosnia-Herzegovina as its home country, since such "links" were made possible for the Serbs with the so-called Yugoslavia and for the Croats with Croatia. Can this be achieved in the present negotiating dynamics?

[Ugljanin] This requirement has not been discussed, although we require that this attitude be supported. In the Declaration of the legislature of Bosnia-Herzegovina from March 1991, it was defined that all prospective "special links" between the Bosnian Serbs and Serbia should be the same as the "special links" between the Muslims from Serbia with Bosnia-Herzegovina. The attitude of Bosnia-Herzegovina is simple: "We do not require anything from you, but if you want something, you have to give us the same thing too." Through "special links" between Sandzak and the home country, Bosnia-Herzegovina will not lose anything, on the contrary, it protects its own interests.

Arresting of People

[Kasalo] How does the so-called Yugoslavia see the prospective "special links" between Sandzak and Bosnia-Herzegovina?

[Ugljanin] How does it see this? The official Serbian policy does not recognize our right to self-determination, and in April 1992 we were deprived of our earlier acquired right that we are a nation. We were "thrown out" of the Constitution. They ignore everything, even the possibility of "special links" with Bosnia-Herzegovina. All this terror, however, including arrests of party leaders and other people, murders, kidnapping, and the prevention of political work show that they are aware of the fact that "they have a stone in the shoe," but they do not want to admit it publicly.

[Kasalo] During the last week, a delegation of the Muslim National Council of Sandzak met with Russian diplomats at the residence of the Russian Embassy in Belgrade. How did the talks develop? What did you require? What were you offered?

[Ugljanin] From 1 to 17 September 1995 our delegation had talks with all ambassadors accredited to Belgrade. We informed them of the problems in Sandzak and presented our three main requirements. The first one is to put the Sandzak issue on the agenda of the Conference on the former Yugoslavia when the global interests of all Yugoslav nations are solved. The second one is to return the OSCE mission to Sandzak, with more members and more powers, in order to create minimal conditions for the Muslim refugees to return to their homes. The third one is to open a European Union office in Novi Pazar with observers who should follow up the situation in Sandzak and mediate in the establishment of the dialogue between the Muslim National Council of Sandzak with the authorities of the so-called Yugoslavia.

We received support from all embassies. The Embassy of Great Britain refused a meeting with us on the ground that they would talk only to a person they selected themselves. This was a very rude answer. We were received at the Russian Embassy, although Russian diplomats proposed something completely different from our requirements. Russia proposed that it, instead of the European Union, be the mediator between the Muslim National Council of Sandzak and the authorities of the so-called Yugoslavia, and that we should not require any kind of international mediation and international guarantees.

[Kasalo] Several leaders of the Sandzak SDA were arrested in mid September. The Council addressed a protest letter to Zoran Sokolovic, the minister of internal affairs of Serbia. What happened after that?

[Ugljanin] Just like up to now, nothing. There is no answer. We have contacted the Ministry on many occasions since 1990 in connection with this and other issues, but we have never received a positive answer. These arrests are especially important, because after this mass arrests of the Sandzak SDA leaders and the leaders of the Muslim National Council of Sandzak in January 1994, all bodies and institutions of the party lost the quorum, which caused an emergency situation in the party. In July 1995 we held a new election, and the SDA got new leadership. The authorities are now arresting the newly elected members. Five of them were arrested, among them Semsudin Kucevic, the party secretary general. He is required to resign and to withdraw from political life. He was imprisoned for a year because he was among the accused during the arrests last year. But he was released because he could not be blamed for anything. And now he is being "treated" by the police. It is important to mention that these arrests followed after our delegation returned from meeting with ambassadors in Belgrade and after the official requirement was made to organize talks with the governments of Serbia and Montenegro.

Stopping Muslims

[Kasalo] The authorities of the so-called Yugoslavia in Sandzak are moving Serbian refugees from Croatia to

This report may contain copyrighted material. Copying and dissemination is prohibited without permission of the copyright owners.

Sandzak. Has this intensified the terror over the Muslim population?

[Ugljanin] Regarding the terror, it is the same as in February 1992. The colonization of Sandzak with Krajina refugees is causing additional tension. There is discontent, which could turn ugly. The Serbian and Montenegrin authorities expelled 69,000 people from Sandzak during 1992 and 1993. We have succeeded in returning some of them, although we do not have absolute control and do not know how many people really returned. People are disgusted because the Serbian authorities make the return of Muslims impossible. They stop and arrest them at the border, while gradually moving Krajina refugees into their houses. Serbian refugees are also being put into refugee camps where there are already refugees from Bosnia-Herzegovina, who came two years ago. It is a well-known fact that the Serbian army from Knin participated in ethnic cleansing in Bosnia-Herzegovina, and it is possible that the executioner meets his victim there. We have proof that the Serbian secret service and the Serbian army want to stage some kind of evil in which approximately 100 Serbs from Knin should be killed in Sandzak. The army would use this as a pretext to attack Muslims. We got the information from Serbian sources, and all reports we have so far received from that source have proven to be true. Therefore we require that an OSCE mission be urgently stationed and a EU office opened in Sandzak.

Sandzak Residents Report 'Embargo' Violation

AU0910171695 Sarajevo Radio Bosnia-Herzegovina Network in Serbo-Croatian 1400 GMT 9 Oct 95

[FBIS Translated Text] The residents of the Sandzak municipalities are the witnesses of the everyday violation of the embargo that the self-proclaimed Yugoslavia allegedly introduced against their brothers on the other side of the Drina River.

On 2 October, several trucks carrying fuel and other goods passed through Bijelo Polje. They had Zvornik and Banja Luka license plates written in Cyrillic and were moving toward Bosnia carrying materiel, military, and other aid to Karadzic's Serbs.

This is the best denial of the alleged embargo of Serbia and Montenegro against the Pale parastate.

In addition to the violation of the embargo, the military activities of the Serbian-Montenegrin army along the border with Bosnia-Herzegovina have also recently been stepped up.

On Mt. Javorje there have been constant tank movements. Military trucks are on the move every day through the village of Milipovi toward Javorje.

Aircraft are also on the move. On 5 October, military helicopters flew toward Cajnice for military operations in Bosnia-Herzegovina. This was stated by the Information Center of the Muslim National Council of Sandzak.

Montenegro

Djukanovic Criticizes 'Junior Status' in FRY

AU0610175195 Paris AFP in English 1721 GMT 6 Oct 95

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Podgorica, Yugoslavia, Oct 6 (AFP)—Montenegro Prime Minister Milo Djukanovic hit out Friday [6 October] at his country's junior status in the rump Federal Republic of Yugoslavia [FRY] which it comprises with its powerful neighbour Serbia.

Djukanovic castigated the Belgrade-based rump Federal Government at a press conference here for reneging on undertakings to deliver petrol supplies and for running up debts of close to 40 million dollars to the Montenegrin state pension fund.

In an earlier attempt to drag his country out from under Serbia's shadow, Djukanovic last month lambasted Belgrade over foreign policy and the economy, which has been crippled by three years of international economic sanctions.

"The Federal government has not succeeded in imposing its authority and settling these problems," he told journalists.

He also said that Montenegro was being "distanced" from the international community, which referred too often only to Serbia when it spoke of Federal Yugoslavia.

"One part of the international community takes no account of the specificities of Montenegro," Djukanovic said, announcing his intention to play a more active role in the foreign policy of the region.

Djukanovic is due to take his new assertiveness to the United States where he hopes to be able to address the House of Representatives, following a visit from a House delegation in early August.

Kosovo

Rugova Praises U.S. Role in Bosnia Peace Accord

Hails Clinton Commitment

AU0710183895 Pristina KOSOVA DAILY REPORT in English 6 Oct 95

[FBIS Transcribed Text] President of the Republic of Kosova Dr. Ibrahim Rugova hailed today the speech

This report may contain copyrighted material. Copying and dissemination is prohibited without permission of the copyright owners.

Pope John Paul II delivered in the General Assembly of the United Nations, in which the Pontiff stood for the right of nations to freedom and the right to rule their own lives. "This is an important message of freedom and humanity for all the peoples in the world," Dr. Ibrahim Rugova told a press conference in Prishtina [Pristina] today.

The Kosova president hailed the cease-fire accord in Bosnia reached Thursday, regarding it as the first step of the American initiative towards the resolution of the problems in former Yugoslavia. He praised the personal commitment of U.S. President Bill Clinton and the determination of his envoy, Mr. Richard Holbrooke, in the diplomatic move.

Speaking to reporters in Prishtina, president of the Republic of Kosova welcomed Albanian Foreign Minister Alfred Serreqi's speech before the UN General Assembly, wherein he pressed for the inclusion of Kosova in the agenda of a comprehensive settlement to the former Yugoslavia's crisis. He also hailed UN's position vis-a-vis the settlement of Serb refugees in Kosova, namely UN's call for a cessation of the Serbian regime's campaign of resettlement of the Krajina refugees to Kosova.

Noting that Amnesty International has filed a new report on Kosova, President Rugova expressed his appreciation for the work the organization has done in publicizing the human rights record in Kosova amidst Serbian regime's violence.

President of the Republic of Kosova Dr. Ibrahim Rugova urged the European Union (EU) to include Kosova directly in its package of economic reconstruction of Bosnia and the former Yugoslavia in general, "for Kosova is among the successor countries" of the defunct Yugoslav Federation.

Dr. Ibrahim Rugova reiterated his call for an immediate halt to the campaign of settling Serb refugees in Kosova. He went on to denounce Serbian regime's systematic repression and violence against Albanians in Kosova. "The past week alone saw 24 Serbian police interventions in 20 Kosova municipalities, on the occasion of which dozens of Albanian households and citizens have been harassed and maltreated," the president said, noting that political and humanitarian activists, Albanian schools, and health-care centers have been targeted too by the Serbian police.

President Rugova demanded the release of "hundreds of Albanian political prisoners," including Mr. Ukshin Hoti, the UNIKOMB [National Unity] party chairman. Noting the not infrequent provocations of Albanians by local Serbs, Dr. Rugova called on the latter to cease doing that. He further denounced huge looting campaigns the Serbian regime has been carrying out in the Kosova market places, the most drastic one to have occurred in Mitrovica last week.

President of the Republic of Kosova reaffirmed the now well-known position on Kosova: an independent and neutral state, open to both Albania and Serbia, is an optimal solution, he said, urging the implementation of an interim international civil administration in Kosova pending a final resolution.

Asked by the Macedonian TV correspondent to comment on speculations in the Serbian press that President Gligorov of Macedonia [The former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia—FYROM] and President Milosevic of Serbia have discussed in their meeting in Belgrade about creating a common Serb-Macedonian front against Albanians, President Rugova of Kosova said he did not believe in the possibility of creating anti-Albanian fronts or coalitions at a time the international community has been working for new integrations in the Balkans and has been closely watching the political movements and the military potentials in the area. The Albanians in Macedonia and the Albanians as a nation are keen to see a stable Macedonia, he said, adding that "the Albanian parties have contributed to this by participating in the Macedonian Parliament and Government." The international community's current priority is to see that the war in Bosnia is brought to an end, Dr. Rugova said, adding that this would turn to be the beginning of the resolution of all the issues in former Yugoslavia. President Rugova maintained Kosova was part of the American initiative package for the region.

Asked to comment on the role of Albania in the United Nations, President Rugova of Kosova expressed appreciation of Albania's commitment towards the Kosova issue in all the international institutions and fora. He recalled UN Secretary General Butrus Butrus-Ghali has promised during a recent meeting with Albanian President Sali Berisha that Kosova would be a permanent preoccupation of the United Nations.

Welcomes Dole's 'Engagement'

AU0610172095 Pristina KOSOVA DAILY REPORT in English 4 Oct 95

[FBIS Transcribed Text] On 21 September the U.S. Senate approved a $12.3 billion foreign aid bill that includes at least $6 million in humanitarian assistance for Kosova. President of the Republic of Kosova Dr. Ibrahim Rugova has welcomed the U.S. Senate's and the personal engagement of Senator Majority Leader Bob Dole towards Kosova over the past years and on this very occasion.

This report may contain copyrighted material. Copying and dissemination is prohibited without permission of the copyright owners.

"If one bears in mind the commitment of President Clinton's Administration to the Kosova issue, one can expect that the U.S. Senate decision will soon be passed," President Rugova said. The United States have been providing humanitarian aid to Kosova for years now. The $6 million will substantially alleviate the social and economic hardships of the people of Kosova under Serbian occupation. Serbia has been obstructing international humanitarian organizations to deliver relief to the people of Kosova. Nevertheless, the U.S. humanitarian aid has been entering the country. The recent decision of the U.S. Senate has further strengthened the traditional respect the people of Kosova cherish for the United States.

Kosovo Albanians Want Part in Bosnia Negotiations

AU0710143695 Paris AFP in English
0312 GMT 7 Oct 95

[By Dmitri Kochko]

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Belgrade, Oct 7 (AFP)—As consultations for an international conference on war-torn Bosnia-Hercegovina and the former Yugoslavia continue, the ethnic Albanian majority in Serbia's Kosovo province is pressing for inclusion in any talks.

About 10,000 emigre Kosovars demonstrated in Geneva a few weeks ago to present a petition with 20,000 signatures to the United Nations urging that the Kosovo issue be put on the agenda.

The Albanian political opposition movements in the province in southern Serbia want independence or an association with Albania which would also take in the western part of Macedonia [The Former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia—FYROM] inhabited by other ethnic Albanians.

To get their voice heard, they can count on a not insignificant diaspora of some 400,000 residents in Austria, Germany, Italy and Switzerland.

They have the backing of the authorities in the Albanian capital Tirana, and to a lesser extent of the United States. Washington would really prefer autonomy for Kosovo, according to reports in last week's Albanian language newspapers in Kosovo.

On a recent US visit, Albanian President Sali Berisha was assured that Washington would "go to the very end to find a settlement," the official media in Tirana reported.

America is acquiring a higher profile in Albania with the presence of troops under the Partnership for Peace scheme sponsored by NATO.

In the past six years, qualified Albanians have been shunted out of posts of responsibility and decision-making in Kosovo, which until 1989 officially had autonomous status.

In response, the main opposition party the Kosovo Democratic League has since 1992 been manning a veritable parallel administration.

The Serbian authorities here have been cracking down on it. In the most recent move, 38 Albanian former police who were apparently serving in an alternative force were jailed.

A human rights watchdog working in Pristina, the Kosovo capital, estimates that over the past five years more than 500 ethnic Albanians have been sentenced on political grounds.

That has produced perceptible tension, even though in the daily round the nearly two million ethnic Albanians ignore the Serbian minority of some 200,000.

The latest complaint is that, with the exodus of Serbs chased out of Croatia, the government in Belgrade intends to colonise Kosovo, make it undergo "ethnic cleansing," and change its demographic structure.

However, all the evidence available to date computes the alleged "massive colonisation" at some 5,000 refugees, mostly elderly people taken into care in a number of towns.

The majority of Serbs driven out from breakaway Krajina by Croatia's military push in August have firmly refused to go and resettle in Kosovo.

The demographic balance is clearly far from being tilted against the ethnic Albanians, even if the figure of 10,000 to 16,000 refugees advanced by the federal authorities of rump Yugoslavia—Serbia and Montenegro—could be given any credence.

What keeps the tension alive is that the Serbians have no intention of countenancing Kosovo's secession.

The region is the cradle of their nation which arose from the ashes of defeat by the Turks in 1389 at Kosovo Polje.

When quizzed about their stance, Serbian officials cite the 1836 siege and massacre of Texans by Mexican troops at the Franciscan mission at San Antonio, known as the Alamo.

"Can you imagine Washington letting the Alamo secede to join Mexico because there was a Spanish-speaking majority in the region?" they ask.

The towering Albanian majority dates from population movements in World War II, when the German Nazis

This report may contain copyrighted material. Copying and dissemination is prohibited without permission of the copyright owners.

expelled almost 200,000 Serbians from Kosovo and 300,000 Albanians from Italian-occupied Albania were settled there. A post-war flood of refugees fleeing Enver Hoxha's iron rule in communist Albania swelled the numbers and the birth rate took off.

What is more, communist Yugoslavia's founding father Josip Broz Tito, a Croatian, stopped the displaced Serbians from returning and gave Kosovo autonomy. Today's Serbian leader Slobodan Milosevic took it away in 1989 amid ethnic clashes in a drive to boost Serbian nationalism.

Rugova Accuses Serbs of 'Systematic Repression'

AU0710152595 Pristina KOSOVA DAILY REPORT in English 5 Oct 95

[FBIS Transcribed Text] President of the Republic of Kosova Dr. Ibrahim Rugova received today in Prishtina Mr. Goran Jacobsson, charge d'affaires of the Swedish Embassy, and Mr. Ilpo Manninen, charge d'affaires of the Finnish Embassy in Belgrade. Dr. Ibrahim Rugova informed the diplomats of Sweden and Finland about the situation in Kosova amidst the unabated Serbian regime's systematic repression. He spoke also about Serbia's efforts to colonize Kosova by resettling Serb refugees from Croatia and other parts of former Yugoslavia to Kosova. Permanent settlement of Serb refugees to Kosova aggravates further the already tense situation, President Rugova said, adding that the Serbian regime drive has not been aimed at addressing a humanitarian issue but rather carry out the forceful change of ethnic distribution in Kosova to the determent of Albanians and in favor of Slavic population.

An independent and neutral Kosova, open to both Albania and Kosova, is the best solution, president of the Republic of Kosova said and reiterated his demand for the placement of Kosova under a temporary international civil administration, which would facilitate a negotiated and lasting solution to the Kosova question.

The Swedish and Finnish envoys to Belgrade said their countries followed the situation in Kosova closely, adding that a peaceful and negotiated settlement to the Kosova issue should be pursued. Developments in the region were also discussed in the meeting.

Rugova, LDK Leaders Comment on Kosovar Issue

'Greater Commitment' Demanded

AU0810140895 Tirana TVSH Television Network in Albanian 1735 GMT 7 Oct 95

[Telephone report by Qani Mehmeti from Pristina]

[FBIS Translated Excerpt] President of the Republic of Kosova Dr. Ibrahim Rugova took part at the regular meeting of the Democratic League of Kosova [LDK] Presidency with the chairmen of the party branches. Rugova spoke about the importance of the party's work in accomplishing the will of the people of Kosova and the position of the Kosovar issue in the international stage.

At this meeting, Rugova stated that, alongside efforts to expeditiously stop the war in Bosnia, the international community is concerned with the Kosova issue and its solution.

The Kosova Information Center reports that President Rugova also demanded a greater commitment by the LDK leaders and members for the independence and neutrality of the Republic of Kosova. [passage omitted]

Serb 'Repression' Condemned

AU0710173895 Pristina KOSOVA DAILY REPORT in English 4 Oct 95

[FBIS Transcribed Text] The General Board of the Democratic League of Kosova (LDK) met today in Prishtina [Pristina] to discuss the current situation in Kosova and the position of Kosova in the international scene. Dr. Ibrahim Rugova, president of the Republic of Kosova and LDK president, chaired the meeting. The vital segments of life in Kosova—education, health care, and welfare—have been maintained, despite a mounting Serbian regime's repressive practices. The situation in Kosova has further aggravated [as received] in the past couple of months in the wake of settlement in Kosova of Serb refugees from Krajina and other parts of former Yugoslavia, Dr. Ibrahim Rugova said, noting that settlement of Serb refugees in Kosova has not been addressed as a humanitarian issue but rather as a colonization scheme. Kosova President said Kosova has demanded an immediate halt to the campaign of settlement of Serb refugees in Kosova.

He hailed the support of the international community, especially of the U.S.A. and the European countries, which have demanded the cessation of the Serbian regime's drive to install Serb refugees in Kosova. The Kosova issue has been promoted and affirmed, Dr. Ibrahim Rugova said. The legitimate demands and the results of the referendum on Kosova's independence have been brought to the fore, Kosova president said, reiterating the need for an international civil administration as an interim phase.

President of the Republic of Kosova stressed the importance of the continued concern of the U.S.A. and the EU countries over the possibility of extension of conflict southward in the Balkans, but also the engagement of these countries towards the resolution of the Kosova

This report may contain copyrighted material. Copying and dissemination is prohibited without permission of the copyright owners.

issue. Dr. Ibrahim Rugova praised the role of Albania and its political and diplomatic support for Kosova. President Rugova said the LDK has done a great work towards affirming the Kosova issue and promoting the life and society in Kosova itself. Kosova President said Kosova was present in the newest peace initiatives for the region, pressing also for inclusion of Kosova in a comprehensive settlement of the crisis in former Yugoslavia.

Ending his opening remarks, Dr. Ibrahim Rugova said Kosova has been running a society and a state despite a very grave occupying regime. Twenty members of the LDK General Board—it has 55 members, Kosova Information Center (KIC)— participated in the discussion. They pressed for an increased activity in keeping with the demands and the current state of affairs in Kosova. Mr. Fatmir Sejdiu, secretary-general of the LDK, gave an account of the LDK Presidency's work. The LDK General Board chose Mr. Anton Noka vice chairman of the LDK. (Two other vice chairmen are Dr. Fehmi Agani and Hydajet Hyseni).

The following are the conclusions of the LDK General Board:

The General Board evaluated the grave situation in Kosova, and, in this respect, called for international support towards the peaceful policies and the sacrifices that the people of Kosova have been making for years now. The Board reaffirmed the results of the 1991 popular referendum on Kosova's independence and neutrality, urged the placement of an international civil administration and the recognition of the new reality in Kosova.

Calling for an end to Serbian repression and violence, the LDK General Board assessed the need for the start of a dialogue on Kosova under the mediation of a third party, which would avert a conflict.

Serbs Offered 2,789 Jobs

AU0710165395 Tirana TVSH Television Network in Albanian 1735 GMT 6 Oct 95

[FBIS Translated Text] The Serbian colonists who have arrived in Kosova so far have been settled in 22 school buildings, seven day nurseries, nine pupils' dormitories, 23 holiday hotels, two health centers, and 16 other buildings with various destinations.

A total of 2,789 jobs have been offered to colonists, of whom 1,008 have been employed, and 30,000 hectares of land and 30,000 other hectares of vineyards have been promised to them. These data were presented by Skender Kastrati, chief of the emigration sector in the Democratic League of Kosova [LDK] and LDK Presidency member, in an interview with the newspaper BUJKU.

Mr. Kastrati also stressed that the period since the arrival of colonists has been characterized by fierce attacks on the property and capital of Albanians. Within this framework, Kastrati mentioned that the colonists have been settled in four buildings of Albanians in Gazivot and nine camp centers have been taken. To financially assist the colonists, goods amounting to approximately 400,000 German marks have been seized from Albanians.

Ethnic Albanian Calls For Rugova To Resign

LD0710124295 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1043 GMT 7 Oct 95

[FBIS Translated Text] Pristina, 7 Oct (TANJUG)— Adem Demaci, one of the most prominent Albanian leaders in Kosovo-Metohija, has directly called on Ibrahim Rugova, chairman of the Democratic Alliance of Kosovo, to step down.

The Pristina weekly ZERI has published the second part of an interview with Demaci in which he accuses Rugova and his group of "frivolousness, incompetence, and of being responsible for the overall bad position of the ethnic Albanian community in Serbia."

To support these claims, he cites "three major proofs of the frivolousness of the current political leadership," which has directed the Albanian secessionist movement over the past few years. The first is the proclamation of the so-called constitutional declaration, the second is the so-called Kacanik constitution, and the third is the implementation of the illegal election at which the assembly of a phantom "republic" was "elected" and at which Rugova was chosen as its first president.

Those who voted for these enactments have fled, while those who witnessed the spectacle—journalists—remained behind to be arrested, Demaci says, repeating his political philosophy that these secessionist acts cannot bear fruit without casualties and constant riots.

Demaci publicly suggests to Rugova that he ought to include in his advisory body Mahmut Bakali, Dr. Redzep Cosje, Azem Vlasi, Veton Suroi, and Ilijaz Kurtesi, although he does not believe that the "poorly organized careerists" around Rugova will accept this.

Serb 'State-Sponsored' Colonization Schemes Seen

AU0710214395

[FBIS Editorial Report] Tirana TVSh Television Network in Albanian at 1735 GMT on 3 and 7 October and Pristina KOSOVA DAILY REPORT in English

This report may contain copyrighted material. Copying and dissemination is prohibited without permission of the copyright owners.

Nos 718, 719, and 720 on 4, 5, and 6 October carry several reports on Serbian "state-sponsored schemes" to "colonize" the province, mentioning also the facilities they offer to the new Krajina Serb settlers.

Citing the Pristina-based BUJKU, KOSOVA DAILY REPORT in English No 719 on 5 October reports that "the Serbian-installed authorities have been working closely on ensuring that Serb settlers, refugees from Krajina, get job and housing opportunities in the municipality of Kamenica in a bid to settle them permanently in Kosova." BUJKU also says that a building block of 30 flats is being built for Serb colonists "in the very center of the town of Kamenica."

Regarding this, Tirana TVSh Television Network in Albanian at 1735 GMT on 7 October states: "The Democratic League of Kosova (LDK) Information Commission in Prizren reports that the latest acts of the Serbian regime to install Serbian colonists in this commune have caused concern among the native population of this area. Alongside the warning to settle Serbian colonists in the memorial complex of the Prizren League, the families of the Serbian refugees have started to be accommodated in the buildings of elementary schools. Thus, such a family has been accommodated at the elementary school in Serbice e Ulet. Meanwhile, instead of feeling bad and behaving gently, the family members are provoking the pupils and inhabitants in the area."

Viewing Serbian regime attempts to "see Serb colonists accommodated in Albanian schools," Pristina KOSOVA DAILY REPORT in English No 720 on 6 October reports that "the Serbian-installed authorities in Ferizaj (Urosevac) have decided to make room for Serb settlers in the building of the local elementary school at Firaje village of this municipality." The LDK Information Commission in Urosevac also reports that "last week Serb workers started to repair the school building, which was erected a few years ago through a self-imposed tax of the residents of Firaje. Serb municipal officials from Ferizaj visited the school two days ago and told the peasants that the school is to serve for the accommodation of Serb arrivals from Croatia." Sources in Orahovac reported likewise that "earlier this week, beds and other furniture were sent to the premises of the 'Mihal Grameno' Elementary School in the town. The management of the school were reportedly told by the Serbian authorities that Serb refugees were to be settled in the school."

Tirana TVSH Television Network in Albanian at 1735 GMT on 3 October carries another report stating that "the Serbian regime has still not published the exact number of the colonists settled in Kosova. Meanwhile, in various centers in Kosova land has been distributed to Serbian colonists, and they are also granted the jobs of Albanian workers, who were violently dismissed."

Regarding this, Tirana TVSh Television Network in Albanian at 1735 GMT on 7 October states: "Alongside the realization of the project for the colonization of Kosova with Serbian refugees from Croatia and Bosnia-Herzegovina, the Serbian-installed authorities in Kosova are working to employ Serbian colonists and incorporate them into the staffs from which the Albanian workers have been dismissed. Thus, 147 Serbian colonists have been employed in the Elekro- Ekonomia Enterprise in Obiliq alone, out of 621 installed in the commune."

Reporting on an interview with Skender Kastrati, LDK Presidency member and chairman of the LDK Migration Department, by BUJKU on 6 October, Pristina KOSOVA DAILY REPORT in English No 720 on 6 October states that Kastrati offered "an accounted analysis of the consequences of settlement of Serb colonists in Kosova" and underlined that "the Serbian regime is intent on providing permanent settlement for Serb arrivals," offering "land, employment, and other opportunities" to them. Kastrati further notes that "until mid-September, 325 Serb colonists' children have been registered and attend classes in elementary schools in Kosova, while 235 secondary school students and 60 university ones have been enrolled in schools and faculties respectively." In his BUJKU interview, Kastrati also mentions "diverse forms of the Serbian regime and police plundering of the Kosova economy and citizens to cater for the needs of the Serb colonists in Kosova," adding that "goods and money estimated to a 391,500 German marks have been seized" from Kosovar private firms and citizens over the past month. Kastrati also notes that the police have been "raiding on marketplaces and firms throughout Kosova on a daily basis."

Pristina KOSOVA DAILY REPORT in English No 718 on 4 October reports on Serbian police attempts not to let the Serbian colonists "escape." The report says that "five Serbian families, Serbian settlers from the Krajina region in Croatia, who have for some time been stationed in the Rahoveci firm premises in the town of Rahovec, have been reported prevented by the Serbian police to escape, namely go back," as they were "discontent with their treatment." The report concludes stating that "in the past two months Serbia has brought more than a dozen thousand Serb refugees from Croatia to Kosova in a bid to settle them permanently in Kosova. This move is part of a state-sponsored scheme to colonize Kosova with Slavic population, to the detriment of Albanians. The Serbian regime has in many ways blackmailed those Serb arrivals who have attempted to leave Kosova and look for a place in Serbia proper."

This report may contain copyrighted material. Copying and dissemination is prohibited without permission of the copyright owners.

BULK RATE
U.S. POSTAGE
PAID
PERMIT NO. 352
MERRIFIELD, VA.

This is a U.S. Government publication produced by the Foreign Broadcast Information Service (FBIS). Its contents in no way represent the policies, views, or attitudes of the U.S. Government.

FBIS collects, translates, disseminates, and analyzes foreign open-source information on behalf of the U.S. Government. Its publications may contain copyrighted material. ***Copying and dissemination is prohibited without permission of the copyright owners.***

— Bracketed indicators before the first sentence of each item describe the way in which the material was processed by FBIS.

— Headlines and all bracketed explanatory notes are supplied by FBIS.

— Personal and place names are rendered in accordance with the decisions of the U.S. Board on Geographic Names as adapted by FBIS. Unverified names in radio and television material appear in parentheses and are spelled phonetically; words and phrases in parentheses preceded by a question mark are unclear in the original and deduced from context.

SUBSCRIPTION INFORMATION

U.S. Government Customers

For a list of FBIS products, to subscribe to an FBIS publication, or to indicate a change of address contact:

FBIS
P.O. Box 2604
Washington, DC 20013-2604
Telephone: (202) 338-6735
FAX: (703) 733-6042

Non-Government Customers

Subscriptions are available from the National Technical Information Service:

NTIS
5285 Port Royal Road
Springfield, VA 22161
Telephone: (703) 487-4630
FAX: (703) 321-8547

New subscribers should expect a 30-day delay in receipt of the first issue.